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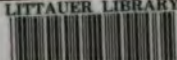
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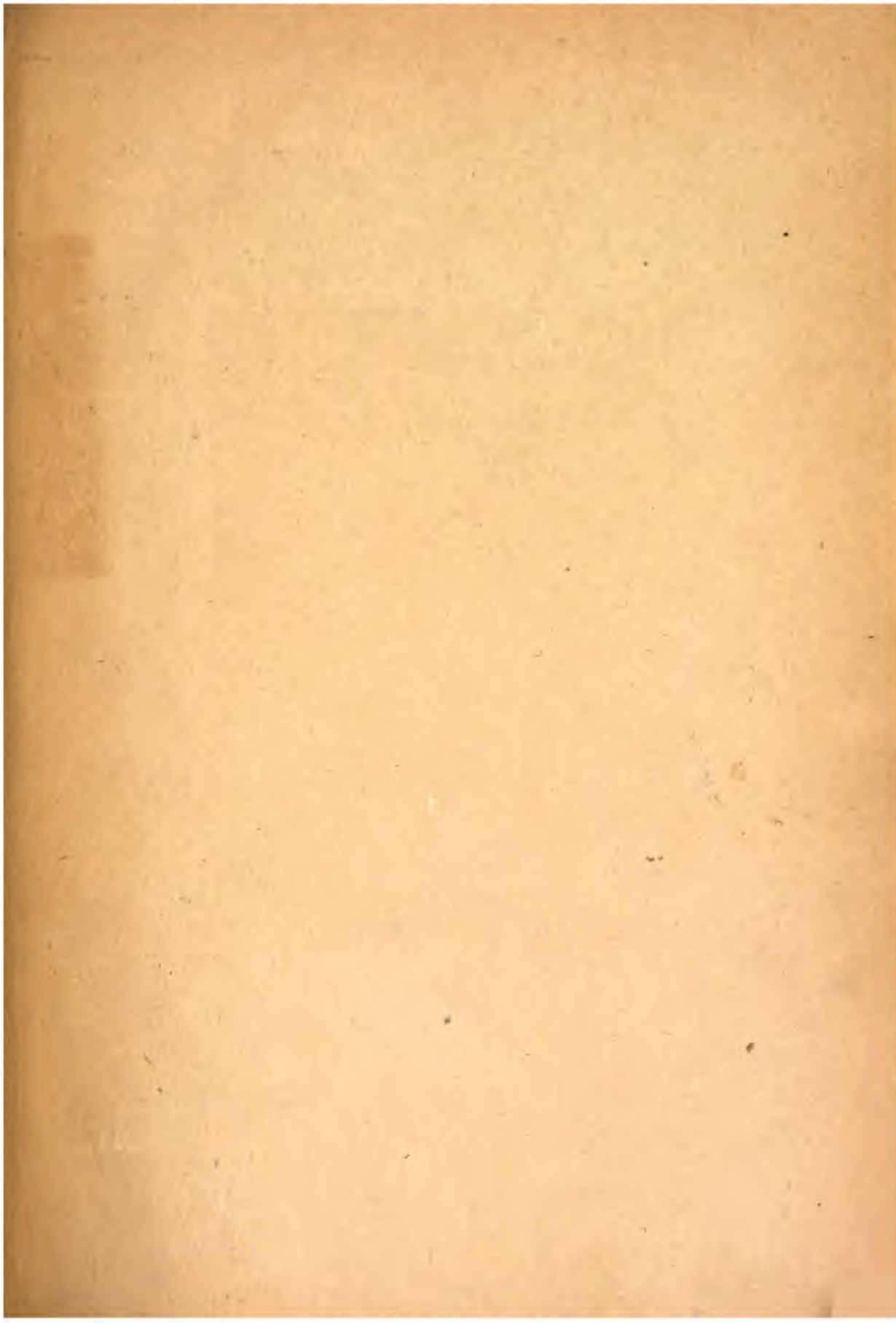
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THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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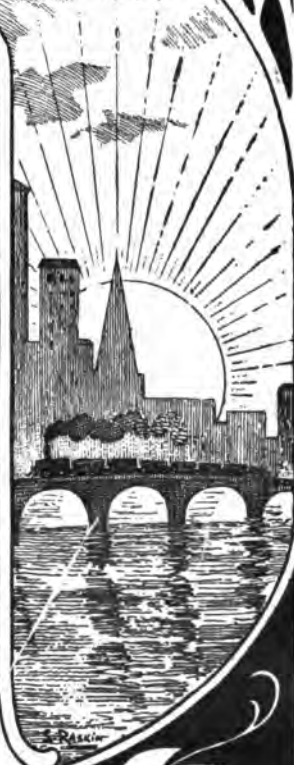
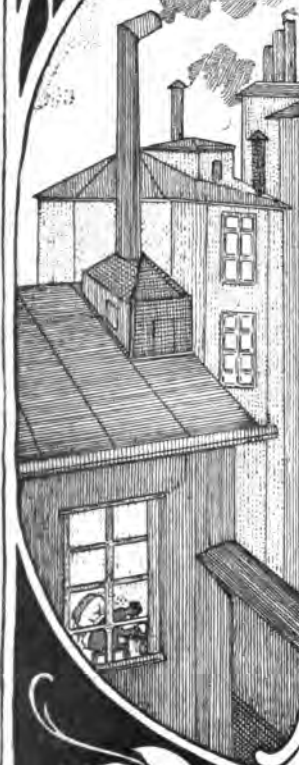
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**International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union**

31 Union Square, New York



March 5, 1919.

Gift of

Mass. Bureau of Statistics Directory of Local Unions

LOCAL UNION

OFFICE ADDRESS

1. New York Cloak Operators.....238 Fourth Ave., New York City
2. Philadelphia Cloakmakers.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
3. New York Piece Tailors.....9 W. 21st St., New York City
4. Baltimore Cloakmakers.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
5. New Jersey Embroiderers.....144 Bergenline Ave., Union Hill, N. J.
6. New York Embroiderers.....133 2nd Ave., New York City
7. Boston Raincoat Makers.....38 Causeway St., Boston, Mass.
8. San Francisco Ladies' Garment Workers.....352—19th Ave.
9. New York Cloak and Suit Tailors.....228 Second Ave., New York City
10. New York Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters.....7 W. 21st St., New York City
11. Brownsville, N. Y., Cloakmakers.....1701 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
12. Boston Cloak Pressers.....241 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
13. Montreal, Canada, Cloakmakers.....37 Prince Arthur, E. Montreal, Canada
14. Toronto, Canada, Cloakmakers.....194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
15. Philadelphia Waistmakers.....40 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
16. St. Louis Cloak Cutters.....Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
17. New York Reefermakers.....117 Second Ave., New York City
18. Chicago Cloak and Suit Pressers.....1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
19. Montreal, Canada, Cloak Cutters.....1178 Cadieux, Montreal, Canada
20. New York Waterproof Garment Workers.....20 E. 13th St., New York City
21. Newark, N. J., Cloak and Suitmakers.....103 Montgomery St., Newark, N. J.
22. New Haven Conn., Ladies' Garment Workers.....83 Hollock St., New Haven, Conn.
23. New York Shirtmakers.....231 E. 14th St., New York City
24. Boston Skirt and Dressmakers' Union.....241 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
25. New York Waist and Dressmakers.....16 W. 21st St., New York City
26. Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
27. Cleveland Skirt Makers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
28. Seattle, Wash., Ladies' Garment Workers.....153—15th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
29. Cleveland Cloak Finishers' Union.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
30. Cincinnati Ladies' Garment Cutters.....411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
32. Winnipeg Ladies' Garment Workers.....Labor Temple, Winnipeg, Man.
33. Bridgeport Corset Workers.....414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
34. Bridgeport Corset Cutters.....414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
35. New York Pressers.....228 Second Ave., New York City
36. Boston Ladies' Tailors.....241 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
37. Cleveland Cloak Pressers' Union.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
39. New Haven Corset Cutters.....12 Parmelee Ave., New Haven, Conn.

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DO NOT BUY ANY SHOE

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Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION

246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Pres.

CHAS. L. BAINE, Sec'y-Treas.

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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No. 1

QUERIES AND ANSWERS AS TO WEEK WORK.

By B. Schlesinger

In the November issue of the *Ladies' Garment Worker* I referred in general terms to the advantages accruing to the workers from changing the present system of piece work to week work. I want to consider now the other side of this question—the objections of some workers against week work.

In course of the months that the General Executive Board has been agitating for week work we have formed a clear idea of the nature of these objections. At meetings I have addressed I have been asked various questions from which I could see where the shoe pinches. Therefore we want the workers to know that we favor a change only because we have formed the conviction that week work is in all respects the best and most salutary system for the workers in the trade. If we saw in week work the disadvantages which some think they see therein, we should be the first to advise the workers to vote against it.

At the same time we know precisely the fears of some of the workers—why they cannot perceive that the so-called disadvantages of week work rest on baseless theories and ill-conceived opinions. In most cases such opinions are entertained for the reason that these people have no reliable information as to the week work system we aim to introduce. It is easy to talk of week work replacing piece work. But it is not so simple a matter to grasp thoroughly; for the uniform week work system really involves a sort of revolution in the method of work—a reform that is destined to abolish some of the most difficult trade problems and ultimately bring about a thorough change in the relations between the workers and the employers in the factories.

Precisely these points we want to explain in this article.

* * *

Let us first of all consider the objections or apparent disadvantages that some workers find in the change from week work to piece work. We shall take up these objections in detail, subject them to a close analysis and see whether they are as black as they are painted, whether they have any basis in fact.

1. The first objection I have heard many workers advance at a number

of meetings was this: Week work would in time develop into task work, for the reason that the employer will pay different wages to his employees; those who will speed up will get higher pay while those failing in speed will be unable to earn a livelihood. This is only one step removed from task work, and task work is the worst curse of any trade.

They who advance this objection do not understand the fundamental points in the system of week work. They do not realize that the introduction of week work will be accompanied by a minimum scale of wages, and the minimum scale of wages will have to be such as to assure to every worker in the trade a living wage.

To be sure, some workers will get a wage above the minimum. The union cannot limit any advance upward. A highly skilled mechanic of unusual ability will always get more than those of inferior skill. It pays the employer to pay more to such workers. But this is a question to be decided between the specialist and his employer. If the employer will pay him more it will be because he is worth more than the union scale. The worker of higher skill will indirectly regulate his higher wages in accordance with the minimum union scale.

Those who fear the development of task work seem to imagine that the amount of wages will be controlled by the employer or by the joint action of employer and workers in every shop separately, by a price committee, as at present. If this were the plan of the union they would have ground for fear. Fortunately this is not the case. We propose to get a minimum scale for all the workers in the industry, which means that it will not be possible for any employer to offer a wage below the scale, while it will always be possible for some workers to be paid above the scale.

2. The second objection comes from the same source, from an erroneous conception of the proposed system. The imagined disadvantage is as follows:

At present, under the system of piece work the union insists on equal distribution of work in the slack season, so that every worker can earn something in the dull months. But upon week work being established it will not be so easy to insist on this practice. In the slack time the employer may refuse to divide days and hours among all the workers, fearing a deliberate waste of time by the workers in order to earn more wages; consequently many workers who, in the dull season, earn a few dollars a week will be plunged into idleness.

We have stated this objection as clearly and glaringly as possible because we wish all workers to understand the reasons why some are opposed to week work, and we do not want anyone who is not thoroughly familiar with every angle of the question to vote for or against the change.

Our answer to this serious objection is perhaps not so easy to understand as the objection itself, but it is the truth and therefore worth while examining with close attention.

As already intimated, week work must be accompanied by a minimum scale of wages. These two principles are like a body with a soul; one without the other cannot be permitted to exist, for it would be useless.

When the union will come to determine the minimum weekly wage of

an operator the following course will be pursued: First the number of busy weeks in the year or the extent of the seasons will be determined. The next question will be the amount of earnings required by a worker with a family. Then the union will determine a wage that will enable the average worker to earn enough in the months of the season to enable him to live all the year around. This is the method employed in all season trades where the week work system has been introduced.

Let us take the bricklayers for example. The union found that on an average its members work not more than twenty-six full weeks in the year, about half a week instead of a whole week, and set the minimum wage scale so that a worker can earn in three days sufficiently to enable an average family to live decently for a whole week. The minimum wage of a bricklayer is approximately \$8 a day, so that on the average his weekly wages may be said to be about \$23 a week.

When our International Union comes to introduce week work in the cloak trade the same principle will be adopted. We shall figure how much an operator must get every week in the months of the season to enable him to live decently during the entire year. The slack months will be entirely left out of account and the wages of the busy months will have to cover the entire year.

While at this point we want to touch on another fact that everyone should bear in mind in considering the question of week work. We all believe in equal distribution of work in the dull season. The union has waged a prolonged struggle for this principle. But the knowledge that in the slack months they will all have a part of the work as a result of equal division of work moves the workers to be mild in their demands for prices. They somehow believe that if the employer allows them some work in the slack season, they ought to be benevolent to him in the busy time and consent to work for lower prices. And the result is that even in the season they are not paid the proper prices for their work.

Under the week work system this serious defect will vanish. As already stated the union will not consider the scant doles of work in the slack time; its basis for wages will be the busy time. Secondly, the wage scale will be entirely controlled by the union. The workers of any given shop might feel grateful to their employer for affording them some work in the slack time, but they will not be permitted by the union to reward the employer for this by working at lower rates.

3. That brings us to the third so-called "disadvantage" advanced by some as an argument against week work; they fear that workers will secretly accept reduced rates in order to obtain jobs and that this will have a bad effect on the entire trade. The fear has its origin in a current rumor that in other trades where the week work system is established such practices prevail.

We shall not deny that there is ground for this danger; but we say that workers who betray their own interests can be watched and controlled far better under a week work system than under piece work. Moreover, when workers are not true to their own interests at price fixing they hurt not only

themselves but all their fellow workers in the shop. A weak, submissive price committee is apt to ruin the season for all the workers, but when any employee secretly accepts a lower weekly scale he injures himself only.

The trade unions have, in course of years, arrived at various methods whereby to check certain employers who seek to make underhand deals with their week workers. This crafty contrivance of reducing weekly pay diminishes with every year. Our business agents and higher officials in the Cloakmakers' Union know the various employers and individual workers too well to be easily duped. We must also take the psychological factor into account. When there is a fixed wage the honest employer and the intelligent worker will not be tempted to cut it; they will realize that they are doing wrong. But under the present system of price adjustment the reverse is the case—the employer believes it to be his duty as a business man to strive by every means at his disposal to reduce the labor cost as much as possible. Neither do the workers think it wrong to compromise with the employer and "do him a favor," giving him an opportunity to get his work done at smaller cost so as to get him more orders and themselves more work.

* * *

The time has never been so ripe, so favorable and convenient for introducing week work in the cloak trade as at present, and I am convinced that if the present opportunity should be neglected our people will rue the day in later years. I do not believe that another such excellent opportunity will occur so soon. The time is ripe and favorable for the following reason:

Owing to the war the worst obstacle in the way of introducing week work in the cloak trade has disappeared of itself. Before the war the trade harbored all kinds of workers—newly arrived immigrants, half-baked and fully adapted workers. We used to have in the same shop beginners, six-monthly learners, yearly, two-yearly and ten-yearly mechanics. Cloakmaking is a trade requiring long acquired experience and skill. A knowledge of operating at a machine or of stitching together a garment does not constitute a cloakmaker. To draw up a scale of wages under those circumstances would be a most difficult operation. It would be impossible to ask the same wages for a new, inexperienced worker as for a full-fledged mechanic. It would cause considerable dissatisfaction in the ranks.

This serious difficulty has totally disappeared. Since the last four years there has been no influx of fresh immigrants into the cloak trade. All who are employed at cloakmaking have been at it for at least four years, and four-year workers at cloaks are full-fledged mechanics. There can be no mistake about that. If it is possible to become a lawyer in four years' time it is certainly possible to become a qualified cloakmaker in that specified period.

Thus we are now dealing with a trade all the workers of which are full-fledged mechanics, and a workable scale of wages—a scale for all—can be drawn up quickly and quite easily. Possibly some exception will have to be made in some shops, in the case of older people and learners, but this is a mere bagatelle. The trade in general is uniform and will be considered as such by both sides when the weekly scale of wages comes to be drawn up.

And because all the workers in the trade are old hands they will more easily adapt themselves to the weekly system. This could not be said of newly arrived immigrants; the latter come here with their native health unimpaired and with narrow provincial ideas of earning money, and they plunge into work with all their energy. They neither understand the nature of the shop nor realize the importance of conserving their vital strength. These workers have always preferred piece work to week work because piece work afforded them a possibility of earning more money by harder toil and reckless throwing away of energy. They were prepared to sacrifice their health to increase their earnings.

After a few years' time these "bundle grabbers" discover their mistake and begin to feel the results of the raging and tearing kind of labor. They begin to value more their health, regretting their former recklessness. Then they see that week work is much better for them because they need not hurry beyond their strength and the idea of extra earnings by extra exertion is entirely absent.

Almost all the cloakmakers have been long enough in the trade to discover the truth relating to the danger of working too hard; therefore the argument of "working harder to earn more" will not now appeal to them. They will rather be impressed by the advice to conserve their health and energy because they already feel poorer in bones and marrow, and must heed the warning.

The cloakmakers now working in the trade have likewise lost their erstwhile dreams that they would eventually succeed in escaping from the shop and becoming employers. This dream had an adverse effect on many of them. They were willing to submit to any sort of system, however injurious to the trade and themselves, if only they saw a possibility of making some money by extra hard work. They cherished the hope that with that money they would become employers and thus eventually secure rest.

Now this dream has vanished. Now it is almost impossible for anyone to become a real manufacturer for the reason that the cheap immigrant labor of former times is not obtainable any more.

The cloakmakers now in the trade know quite well that their place is in the trade, that they are destined to remain in the trade more or less permanently. Therefore it is their business to have their system of work so arranged as to yield them a living wage in return for a natural, human working day. Week work is such a system.

The week worker is always healthier, more at ease and feels securer than the piece worker. He knows his position in the world. He need not worry when starting on a new garment that it will not yield him enough to earn a week's wages. He need not hurry unduly. He always knows how much his earnings will be and how to order his life accordingly. He can adapt himself to his circumstances because he is thoroughly familiar with them.

Ask any workers formerly employed on piece work and now having a weekly scale of wages, whether they would change back to the piece system, and their answer would be a blunt refusal. They would regard it a great misfortune to be compelled to return to that system.

Take the typesetters, for instance. We still remember the time when they were employed on piece work. We also remember the fact that when the proposition to change to week work was discussed at their union meetings many of them protested, advancing the same objections as now made by some cloakmakers. Actual practice made them wiser. Now they know that the week work system was a great blessing to them. Under a piece work system the typesetters would never attain a six-hour day at a minimum scale of more than \$30 a week in places where not a single day in the year is lost.

All trades where the union is strong, in which the workers enjoy good health and live and work like human beings, have a week work system. In trades having inferior conditions the workers are striving to introduce week work. Experienced union leaders and experienced and thoughtful workers everywhere are for week work.

Cloakmakers, a new, happier period will set in in your trade; your union will become more powerful, your lives easier and more comfortable when you replace piece work by week work.

OUR FOURTEENTH CONVENTION IN MAY, 1918

Pursuant to a decision of the General Executive Board the next biennial convention of our International Union will be held in May, two weeks before the appointed time.

Our constitution provides that the opening of the convention shall take place on the first Monday in June, which is the birthday of our International Union. In June 1918, eighteen years will have elapsed since its formation. Twelve regular conventions have been held in regular time. An exception, however, had to be made in respect of the thirteenth convention. Owing to the prolonged cloak strike of 1916 in New York City, the last convention was held in October, 1916, in Philadelphia.

The next convention will be opened on May 20, and will have to amend the constitution, making a permanent change in the time of all future conventions, for the following reason:

The Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor changed the time of meeting from November to June and fixed the second Monday in June as the opening day. (The reasons for the change were stated in detail in the December issue of the Ladies' Garment Worker.) Our constitution provides that the delegates from our union to the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be elected together with all our general officers after all the business of the convention has been disposed of. Our union would thus be deprived of representation at the Federation convention and would be unable to exercise its share of influence on the course of the labor movement to which it is entitled by its membership and standing.

Thus the General Executive Board felt compelled to change the date of our next convention in order to fulfill definite duties to our union and the labor movement.

At the same meeting the General Executive Board decided to submit to a referendum vote of our entire membership the names of three proposed cities, one of which to be the convention city—Chicago, Baltimore and Boston.

There are various reasons to guide the members in their choice. Some think that Chicago should be selected because this city and cities further West present a large field for our organizing efforts, and holding the next

convention in Chicago would have a beneficial effect on all our locals in that part of the country. Aside from this claim Chicago has never had the privilege of an International convention.

Those, on the other hand, who propose Boston or Baltimore claim that since the majority of our locals and members are located in eastern centres the convention should be held in the East.

Both of these claims are entitled to consideration, and we advise our locals and members to take into account the needs and interests of every part of our union and vote for this or that city in accordance with their honest convictions.

***** A DAY'S WAGES FOR RELIEF OF THE WAR VICTIMS *****

The heart-rending cry of the war sufferers of Russia and elsewhere for relief has touched a responsive cord in the heart of the Jewish population of the United States. The workers in our industry have not had time to respond to the special appeal of the relief committees for \$5,000,000 to make up the total of \$11,000,000 pledged by the Jewish population, because the last month was rather the height of the slack season.

But our people will not hold aloof from this noble endeavor. They will contribute to the relief funds in their own way.

They have decided to give what might be called "the widow's mite," a day's wages, which is not out of their abundance but out of their very needs.

For three and a half years our sisters and brothers across the ocean have been enduring indescribable sufferings. Starvation, exile, bereavement and anguish of soul have been their lot from the beginning of this terrible war. And although our country is involved in the conflagration, we here are still in paradise compared with the hellish state of affairs prevalent in the war zone. Most of our people who hail from those parts can best realize the distressful situation and must stretch out a helping hand.

The decision to offer a day's wages was arrived at last month at a conference of representatives and local executive board members. The speakers at the conference included Jacob Schiff and Louis Marshall, who are intimately connected with the relief work, and also Judge-elect Jacob Panken and Dr. Frank F. Rosenblatt. In order to make the donation as large as possible it was unanimously decided that the day in question shall be Washington's Birthday, February 22—a recognized legal holiday in the cloak and suit and waist and dress trades.

Washington's Birthday falls in the height of the spring season in these and cognant trades. In past years the manufacturers offered our people double pay for work on this day. As this year the work will be for an urgent and noble purpose—a purpose that must touch the hearts of the manufacturers as well as the workers—we hope that the manufacturers will co-operate with us to make the donation the biggest compatible with the wealth-yielding ladies' garment industries. We hope that they will willingly pay double time, or, at least, not less than time and a half for the work. As our people agree to give up their entire earnings of that day we hardly doubt whether the manufacturers will grudge the extra pay in view of the noble purpose for which the money will be devoted.

In the meantime we are glad to put on record that many of our members in whose trades Washington's Birthday is not a recognized holiday are already donating a day's wages to this fund, and we appeal to all other locals and members to join this good cause with heart and soul and come generously to the relief of the war sufferers.

Financial And Organizing Problems Of Trade Unions

How Some American Unions Have Solved the Financial Problem—Abolished the System of Assessments; Reduced the Difficulties Connected with the Payment of Dues and Strengthened Their Organization.

Substance of an Address Delivered at the Recent Convention of the Boilermakers' Brotherhood Which Every Trade Unionist, Particularly Active Members Should Read with Attention.

By James Wilson

(President of the Patternmakers' League)

I remember well when at a convention of the Boilermakers' International in 1912, I advocated the idea that if your union expected their organization to meet with that success in the industrial field that they hoped, they would have to adopt a financial system that would provide the necessary revenue, the sinews of war, in order that the membership of the organization could be supported in times of industrial disputes. And I called attention at that time to the fact that an organization that had to depend upon assessments in order to raise its revenue for the purpose of maintaining men on strike was in a hazardous position, because the employers feel that where men are living from hand to mouth it is an exceedingly easy matter to starve them into submission. Your organization at that time adopted a higher per capita tax to your International Union. I predicted that with that action would come an increased growth in your organization, that your general conditions of employment would improve, and that you would not need any more of those assessments that create so much discord and are the means through which many members of a trade union allow themselves to be suspended rather than meet those assessments, unless their own members in the immediate locality are involved in the dispute.

Now the fact is that since your convention in 1912 your International Union has not found it necessary to levy any further assessments than the regular dues upon the membership. Consider the further fact that the funds of your International Union have grown and grown until to-day you have many thousands dollars in your International treasury; yet, the fact is that every legitimate expense or benefit to which the

membership of your organization has been entitled, has been paid by your International Union. To-day no one will dispute the fact that the membership of your organization is twice as large, yes, more than half again as large as it was in 1912. From a membership of 16,000 in 1912, you have grown to more than 40,000 in a period of five years; from a union that was continually assessing its members to a union that now has no assessments, to a union that now has a better condition of employment. The delegates to that convention laid a stone in the foundation of this Brotherhood that is really the foundation for the success of this or any other trades union in our time. There is no question of such vital importance to the success of a trades union as the question of finance. A labor union has large expenses. Its income can be derived from but one source, and that is the weekly dues, the monthly dues, or whatever dues are paid by the membership into the locals, and by the locals into the International.

I represent one of the small unions in the trades union movement of our country, but as to strength and power and system of organization and finances, it compares second to none in the trades union movement of our country. Its ability to fight, its ability to support its members, are recognized by trade unionists and employers alike.

Last June we had a convention, and discussed again the question of finance. We changed our financial system. We found that it required a lot of time of our local representatives to collect dues every week from the membership of our union, and so we provided that instead of paying dues weekly, we now pay dues quarterly, four times a year, seven dollars a quarter,

twenty-eight dollars per year. Delegates at our convention said, "Why, the membership will leave the union." I asked them by what right they could say that members would leave our union, because of a slight increase in dues, so that they would pay dues quarterly instead of weekly. And I referred to the increased wages and the shorter hours of labor that had been secured in every organized locality under the jurisdiction of our union. And I asked if they thought that the Pattern Makers of this country had no more intelligence than to leave the union that had accomplished so much good as we had for the membership of our union, because it was changing its financial system. We referred the action of our convention to the membership for approval, and there was not an action of that convention that was not ratified by a large majority of the membership of our organization. Why? Because our membership realized that they must have a proper financial system.

Now we did something else at that convention with reference to finances. We found as trades unionists, as workers, that standing as individuals in the industrial world as it exists to-day, we are helpless to negotiate with our employers for any better conditions of employment, and so we organized our local unions. We realized that in order to give to the local unions greater strength and more prestige, something further must be done, and we organized our national union; and to add greater prestige to the national union we organized our international union, in order that the full power and strength of the industry of which we are a part may be banded together in one common brotherhood for the protection and the uplift of the entire industry. And it has been proven that our American Trades Union system is the most successful organization of any trades union movement of any country in the world. Now then, if it be true that this banding together of men in international unions has been a benefit to the worker, our organization decided then that it was equally as advantageous to the organization to combine through the centralization of funds the entire financial resources of our international union into one central point, the headquarters of the international union.

The day is coming when your financial

resources will be organized internationally, just the same as your International Union is now organized. Your trade, like my trade and every other trade, has its bad spots. You may take, for instance, the City of Seattle, Washington. If we go into the City of Seattle, we spend money and we organize that city, and it becomes a strong, powerful organization. By reason of its large membership, it has accumulated a large fund. I do not believe, as a practical trades unionist, that Seattle should be permitted to keep that money, so long as throughout the western part of New York, and through the northwestern part of Pennsylvania, there exist thousands of boiler makers and other craftsmen unorganized. That money should be expended in the organization of men that are working under conditions as mechanics that do not even compare to-day with the laborer who is digging sewers or repairing streets. If the trades union movement of this country is going to get all that it is supposed to get out of our movement, we must concentrate our financial resources into those parts of the country where no organizations exist.

You must remember, my brothers, that you might be able to establish a condition of employment, by reason of your strength and the power of your organization, in one locality; but if within a few hundred miles of that locality there exists an unorganized locality, where there are thousands of laborers who are working for 25 and 30 cents, as compared with your 50 cents and 75 cents, the day is coming when you must either lift these fellows up to your standard of working conditions or they are going to pull you down to their standard of working conditions. Because the employer cannot compete with the cheap, low paid localities, and if he cannot, it is either a question of going out of business or making a fight against us. And so it is our duty to ourselves, who have taken advantage of organization, as well as our duty to the men who have failed to take advantage of organization, to concentrate our resources to organize those men. And that is what we propose to do in the concentration and centralization of the financial resources of our International Union.

If our union in Chicago, with their 80 cent rate of wages and their eight hour day has thirty thousand dollars in its local treas-

ury, and just a few miles away, pattern makers are working for 30 cents, unorganized, either they must come up or the 80 cent man must come down. There are men here from San Francisco who can remember the struggle, and how much their conditions were placed in jeopardy, when they forced from the employers the eight hour day and a rate of wages and in the other manufacturing cities of the Pacific Coast practically an unorganized condition existed, the nine and ten hour day prevailed, and a much lower rate of wages, and their condition was continually in jeopardy. But to-day, that entire coast is practically an organized locality. Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, are negotiating for higher wages. Our men are asking for \$7.00 per day for eight hours.

I believe that now we should as loyal citizens use every honorable effort to bring about conditions without the stoppage of work for a single day in any industry. And if we must strike, we must have our course so steered and our record so clearly established that the burden and responsibility of the strike will rest upon the employers and not upon the men of labor. If it takes a little longer in the negotiations, it won't hurt. It might do good. We will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that we can always quit, but it isn't always so easy to adjust after we have quit. We must be careful, we must protect our interests. We must remember that our great President has said that we are fighting for the maintenance of democracy. Brothers, I say to you that this world cannot continue to have autocracy and democracy existing at one time; either autocracy must give way to democracy, or democracy must give way to autocracy. The trades union movement of this country is loyal to our nation at this time in its declaration for the establishment of democracy throughout the world, because we fear that with the growth of militarism autocracy will have a stronger hold upon Europe, and we as trades unionists must see to it that if we are engaged in war for the establishment and maintenance of democracy throughout the world, we must insist that we shall have democracy in the industries of our country.

Our movement has done wonders. It has created a feeling and a spirit of fraternity in the hearts and the minds of the workers who have taken advantage of organization.

We have gone on from nothing to a great power, growing stronger each day, improving the conditions in industries each day, bringing about improved legislation for the protection of the workers, whether organized or unorganized, increasing the wage earner's interest in government, increasing his standing in the community, making him a good citizen.

But this labor movement of ours is not yet what it should be. It will not be what it should be until every worker is enrolled as a member of a trades union, and every member of every trades union, instead of sitting home waiting for an international organizer, for a local business agent, to come and organize, shall realize that he as a member of his union, paying his money for its development, should go out and organize every other man that is enjoying its benefits without contributing anything towards its support. And we should give warning to the fellow who does not belong to the union: "Either join this union or you can no longer gain your livelihood by working at this business."

The employer says that it is the closed shop that is un-American. We answer back that it may be what you call the closed shop, but it is American. It is in accordance with every act of our legislatures, state, national and city. They pass ordinances, they pass laws, and they provide a legal department to see that the law is enforced, and men and women pay their share in the running of the municipality, the state or the nation. Upon failure to observe its laws they are immediately haled before a tribunal and sentenced either to a fine or imprisonment or both. And that is American, because we must have laws, and we must have taxation measures, and everything else upon which to run the government.

Now here we are, as wage earners, realizing that because of the conditions that exist in the industries we must band together, and we must pay out our money for that purpose. Then along comes a free American, with a flag wrapped around him, and he says, "I have the right to work where, when and under what conditions I please, without being dictated to by your un-American unions." And we say, "Yes, but it is in your interest to join this union," and we force him to do it for his own bene-

fit, and if he will not do it for his own benefit, we just simply say we are not going to have any barnacles in the trade, and we run him out of the business, just as we take the barnacles off the ship so that it's progress will not be impeded.

Sometimes the bosses do not like to recognize the union shop. At the plant of one of the largest employers of pattern makers in this country we had a fellow that would not pay his dues, and I went and told the boss that that fellow wasn't paying his dues, and he said, "We are not a collecting agency." And I said, "We don't want you to be a collecting agency. All we want is that this man keep his obligations to our organization." He said, "We will protect that man in whatever he does." I said, "All right." So we finally had to leave the shop. Through the metal trades organization of that locality, we had a conference, and finally I got another conference with him, and he said to me, "Now, understand this: That this man will have to pay his dues, but understand this is an open shop." I said, "I don't care what you want to term it, so long as the men in this shop are understood to pay dues into our organization." And he said, "we will call it an open shop." And I said, "All right, then, it is an open shop, but it is understood that no one can work here unless he is a contributing member in our union." (Laughter.)

You, the delegates representing the local unions of Boiler Makers and Ship Builders and Helpers throughout the jurisdiction of your International Union, have been sent here to legislate for that union. You have been chosen because you are the most active workers in your locality. Your membership has confidence in you. You come here and you hear something advocated that perhaps the membership in your locality might be opposed to, because they don't understand it like you hear it here. It is your duty as a representative, if you desire to advance the interest of that union, to vote for that legislation and assume the responsibility of leadership, and go back home and tell your men why you did it, and you will find that the rank and file of the trades union movement is anxious to advance and improve the condition of the organization.

I don't believe that men want to keep the unions cheap. Last month I spoke to the Metal Polishers' Union, in Cincinnati, at their convention. They revolutionized their

financial system, and as a result it will be a better and greater union. You take an International Union with cheap dues, and you raise it up to at least 50 cents a week. I wouldn't care if 90 per cent. of the membership left the union. I will guarantee that in a period of two to five years it will be a better union, and have more members, more money, more funds than ever. The delegates representing organizations must be willing to assume the responsibility. All I want in any one town is a man who is not afraid of the employer, who has a little moral courage and a little grit, and I will organize through him any place. We need one or two men who are willing to bear the brunt of leadership. Then develop them in every locality. Get the grouch into a pleasant frame of mind; bring about a condition of unionism, regardless of what our political opinions may be, regardless of what nation we may come from, regardless of what our religious belief might be. But remember that all workers must be banded together. We must stand shoulder to shoulder as brothers, fighting together, sacrificing together, and winning together in every dispute in which it is necessary to become involved. In your locality, in your international union, bring about harmony; bring about a condition whereby there shall be no internal disputes. The employers' organization has every local union of your trade and ours honeycombed with spies. The employers long ago have learned that they cannot destroy the trades union movement from without, that they must destroy it from within, and so they hire sneaks that come crawling noiselessly, and get up in the meetings and at every opportunity say that the business agent is crooked, that the president is no good, that the International organizers and vice-presidents travel around the country and do nothing. When you hear that, as you do hear it in your meetings, put your finger on that fellow. Instead of following his leadership, watch him closely.

I say to you, that your business agents, your president, your organizers, your vice-presidents, and your International officers, in their entirety, are men who have been taken from your ranks, because they have demonstrated that they have some ability. They are out fighting your fights, they are out meeting the enemy every day and the employer is trying within the union to sow

the seeds of dissension, in order to make men discouraged, disgusted with the organization, and to leave; and then comes decay and destruction.

Men, stand loyal to your officers. What better set of men could you have as your officers, who have brought about this splendid organization of Boiler Makers?

When the Judas Iscariots and the Benedict Arnolds who sold themselves to the manufacturers' organization for thirty pieces of silver, attempt to villify and question the character of the officers, general or local, of your organization, mark them well, because that is the policy being pursued by these employers' organizations.

We have no place in our unions for bickering or for internal dissension. We have a great struggle with the employing classes of this country. You discourage men who assume the responsibility of leadership when you continue crying out against them. And, Oh, how much more loyal, how much more energetic the officers could be if only they knew that the membership was back of them to a man, and that what they did would have their loyal support. How many times they must question the wisdom of a movement, because perchance they doubt the loyalty of the membership. How many opportunities are allowed to slip by, because of a lack of interest on the part of the membership!

We are engaged in a great movement, world wide in its character; a movement that has for its purpose the uplift and betterment of the conditions of all mankind, the establishment in reality of democracy in the industries, industrial freedom, the right to have a say as to the conditions under which we will sell our labor. There is no work in which man can be engaged that is so good for the well-being of society as is the work of the trades union movement. We are struggling for the establishment of justice. Slowly, but surely, justice is coming, but it shall not have come in all its fullness so long as the wail of the child is heard above the noise of the machine, so long as the mother must leave her suckling child to go forth in search of bread, so long as special privilege sits enthroned in high places.

The trades union movement of this country aims to eliminate from the face of the earth the last vestige of misery and despair. You and I, each and every one of us, have

our part to play in the great struggle that is now going on. Be loyal to the principles, to the teachings of the trades union movement. Be willing to sacrifice. Uphold the hands of your representatives. Don't be a coward, be a man. Remember that after all is said and done, life here on this earth is but for a short time, and that beyond is the grave, where we will soon be forgotten. Let us resolve that during life we shall be of real service to humanity, so that those who follow after us will have a greater measure of freedom and justice than it was our lot to inherit.

THE MECHANIC

By Charles C. Jones

Builder am I of miraculous cities,
Beautiful, tall and strong,
All fashioned and fitted with cunning art
To last through the ages long;
Neither a dreamer nor architect,
I am Labor by rule and line,
And others have planned, but I have worked,
And the feel of the work is mine.

Ho! for the thrill in the tips of my fingers,
Sensitive, swift and true,
That handle the riches of all a world
Brought up to a task to do;
Steel form the innermost deeps of earth
And the flux in the fire of art,
Stone from the mountains that knew time's
dawn
And wood from the tree's great heart.

Bidding them serve me I serve as fairly,
The sharp tools cleave and sing
The genius that lives in the skillful hand,
The joy of the perfect thing;
Shaping them each to the part to fill,
Till the full poem mounts on high
In the music of wood and stone and steel
For men to occupy.

Maker am I of the marvelous cities,
Bound of my skill to love
The beautiful wonder of finished work
And the travail and sweet thereof;
Then ho! for the thrill in my finger tips,
And the magic of rule and line,
For others have dreamed, but I have done
And the feel of the work is mine.

UNION INACTIVITY COSTLY

Tacoma, Wash.—Machinists employed in Tacoma garages are paying a costly price for union inactivity. A short time ago they discussed organization, but employers checked this movement by granting the eight-hour day. The machinists were elated over their gain and dropped union agitation. They said a union wasn't necessary.

Now the employers have established the 10-hour day.

The American Labor Movement in the Present Crisis

By A. R.

ADVERSE DECISION OF U. S. SUPREME COURT

By far the most surprising news of last month relating to labor was the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company versus the United Mine Workers' of America. In some circles the decision has been interpreted to mean that labor unions may not organize open shops or call a strike in such shops under certain conditions. Such a decision was almost incredible, for its purpose is to deny to unions their very existence.

The attitude of the Supreme Court recalls the time prior to the French Revolution when progressive radical ideas ruled side by side with the worst despotism of those times. While radical spirits impelled the people forward a dissolute monarchy with its corrupt court clique shut out the light of thought to keep up tyranny and oppression.

Under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances public opinion has undergone a distinct change in favor of organized labor. Society is opening its eyes to the fact that it really depends on labor for saving the world from its present sad condition. Yet, oblivious to the change in public opinion courts seem to give the impression that the entire world may go forward, but their time-honored views shall lag behind the times. One is reminded of the fanatic who, after it had been demonstrated to him that the earth revolves around the sun, said that even though the earth's revolution should carry him into the abyss he would not change his opinion. But to come to the point.

Some years ago, when John Mitchell was still president and William B. Wilson the secretary of the United Mine Workers' of America, that union tried to organize the workers of the Hitchman Coal & Coke Company of West Virginia, then an open shop. Upon the application of the company Judge Dayton granted an injunction against the union and its officers, characterizing their organizing work as a conspiracy.

The union appealed to a higher court, and in May, 1914, the Federal Court of Appeals nullified the injunction on the ground that

the United Mine Workers had a right to organize the employees of the said company.

The United States Supreme Court, before which the case has been pending ever since, has now reversed the Court of Appeals on the following grounds:

What the defendants were endeavoring to do at the Hitchman mine and neighboring mines was not a bona fide effort to enlarge the membership of the union, since the new members were not desired or sought except as a means to the end of compelling the owners of the mines to change their methods of operation.

The court holds that not all peaceful methods pursued by a labor union to organize shops are lawful. If the purpose of the methods is to cause damage to the employer, or even if they have this effect, the methods are unlawful. Furthermore, according to this opinion, if employees sign individual agreements with employers the officers inducing these workers to join the union, even though they do not prevent them from completing the time of contract act unlawfully. In this case, the organizer merely persuaded the miners to join the union but has not interfered with their contract obligations.

The decision is fraught with serious consequences for the unions if they will fail to look after their interests. By its terms every union is in a position of a man in robust health whom a doctor forbids inhaling the fresh air and exercising his limbs. Is it possible to comply with orders of this kind, even if given by a so-called doctor?

Clearly there exists a glaring contradiction between the new public opinion and the inert doctrines of the courts.

Three of the judges—Justice Holmes, Justice Clark and Justice Brandeis dissented from this opinion.

A SECOND DANBURY HATTERS' CASE?

Last month a federal jury awarded \$200,000 to the Bache-Denman syndicate, which sued the United Mine Workers for alleged damages, charging that their properties had been injured to the extent of \$2,250,000 as the result of a strike in Sebastian

county in 1914. Suit was started under the Sherman anti-trust act. Under this law the syndicate is entitled to three times the award. The strike was caused by the syndicate's attempt to establish non-unionism. The decision, it is said, is the first time a judgment has been obtained against a labor union, and affects the funds of the United Mine Workers as an organization. This case differs from the Danbury hatters' case in that there the judgment was obtained against the individual members and not against the union as such.

Miner's officials announce they will carry the case to the United States supreme court, if necessary.

The miners charge that the verdict was influenced by Judge Elliott, who called the jury before him after they had been deadlocked and declared that conspiracy charges against the miners had been fully proven.

A SHORTAGE OF LABOR AND MUCH IDLENESS

For a period of six months or more certain manufacturing interests and railroad companies have been spreading the rumor of a shortage of labor, and thousands of women workers have since been filling men's places at hard toil, which formerly only the physical strength of men was thought able to grapple with.

Even in New York City, where unemployment is still rife, women and girls are now to be seen as subway and car conductors, and it is certain that these women doing men's work do not receive men's pay.

The State Labor Department of New York is conducting a survey of labor conditions to determine whether there is a greater demand or a greater supply of labor. The investigation is being conducted in thirty-seven cities. So far the facts have established that in factories employed on government orders the demand for labor is greater than the supply, while in some places the so-called shortage of labor is a myth.

Clearly, there is a lull in those trades that do not supply the immediate needs of the war. Even in certain branches of the clothing industry there is considerable unemployment.

Last month only some 700 women were reported working in men's places; 300 at tool and instrument making in Rochester and 400 in Elmira, the latter firm, not men-

tioned by name, is seeking to engage some 1,100 more women in men's places.

The trade unions of the localities strongly protect against the lower pay of these women. In some factories where the men had a weekly scale the women in their places are employed on piece work at low rates.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION DENOUNCES ARIZONA DEPORTATIONS

The report of the commission that President Wilson had sent to investigate labor troubles in Bisbee, Arizona, and places far west, particularly the deportations of strikers and persecutions of union men, contains a scathing denunciation of the unlawful methods and sharp practices of the so-called vigilance committee that carried them out. The commission consisted of Secretary of Labor Wilson, John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and E. P. Marsh, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor. The report reads in part:

The deportation was wholly illegal and without authority in law either state or federal.

The deportation was carried out under the sheriff of Chocoma county. It was formally decided upon at a meeting of citizens on the night of July 11, participated in by the managers and other officials of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining company (Phelps-Dodge corporation, Copper Queen division) and the Calumet and Arizona Mining company. Those who planned and directed the deportation purposely abstained from consulting about their plans either with the United States attorney in Arizona, or the law officers of the state or county, or their own legal advisers.

In order to carry the plans for the deportation into successful execution, the leaders in the enterprise utilized the local offices of the Bell Telephone Company and exercised or attempted to exercise a censorship over parts of interstate connections or both the telephone and telegraph lines in order to prevent any knowledge of the deportation reaching the outside world.

The following recommendation among others occurs in the report:

In so far as deportations such as we have set forth have not yet been made a federal offense, it is our duty to report to the president the wisdom of recommending to the congress that such occurrences hereafter be made criminal under the federal law to the full extent of the constitutional authority of the federal government.

OFFICIAL FIGURES AS TO WAGES AND COST OF LIVING

Washington—The federal bureau of labor statistics reports that union wages in 101 of the principal trades in 48 leading cities of the United States were 19 per cent. higher in May, 1916, than in 1907. This report has just been issued in bulletin No. 214.

The same department of the government reported last October in its Monthly Review:

"Comparing prices the year before the war with prices in August, 1917, food as a whole advanced 47 per cent. Flour advanced 130 per cent., or more than two and one-fourth times the price in August, 1913; cornmeal advanced 120 per cent., or nearly as much as flour; potatoes, 87 per cent.; sugar, 77 per cent.; lard, 72 per cent., and pork chops, 58 per cent."

Assuming, therefore, that wages have risen 20 per cent., the workers, excepting in a few cases, are now 27 per cent. poorer, while those who still work under old wage conditions are 47 per cent. short of income for food and other necessities.

POVERTY AND RICHES

The undoubted poverty of the masses is offset by the increase in the number of millionaires, if this is any consolation to the poverty-stricken people. The annual report of the commissioner of internal revenue shows that in the last income taxing year, 1916, the number of American millionaires increased 7,925 over the previous year.

The income tax returns for the year ending with December, 1915, showed a grand total of 14,771 millionaires. The returns for the year 1916, just published, show that there are 22,696 American millionaires.

These figures are not the result of a census, but are the returns that have yielded the government a very large revenue during the last year, and they may, therefore, be accepted as authentic. It is possible that they are rather under than over the actual number.

The class of multimillionaires is not so easily estimated. There are 10 persons in the country who have an annual income of over \$5,000,000 each. Reckoned on the 4 per cent. rate of income, they are worth \$125,000,000 each. There are nine persons who were taxed last year for an income of \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000. These may be regarded as having fortunes of about \$100,-

000,000 each. There are 14 who have reported having an income of from \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000 and 34 who enjoyed incomes ranging from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000.

STRIKE COST NEW YORK CAR COMPANIES \$5,000,000

The street car companies in this city broke the strike of the Street Car Men's Union in the summer of 1916, but it cost them \$5,000,000, according to a report issued by the public service commission. This only includes a loss of 100,000,000 passengers during August and September and makes no mention of strikebreakers, guards and private detectives who punched another big hole in the companies' bank rolls.

The strike, according to the commission, has educated many people to travel in the subways, and this income is a regular loss to the union-smashing surface lines.

Tens of thousands of ladies' garment workers contributed to the company's loss by walking long distances and riding in jitneys in sympathy with the striking carmen.

LOCKOUT OF 600 FUR WORKERS IN NEWARK

A lull in the fur trade set in towards the end of November, and this probably was sufficient pretext for the firm of A. Hollander & Son, fur manufacturers, dyers and dressers of Newark, to lockout 600 of their union employees.

In a page advertisement in the trade papers the firm announced having closed their factory because the International Fur Workers' Union insisted on managing the firm's business.

This is a contention that has done duty in every strike and lockout of the last half century. Everybody knows that there is not a union in the world so devoid of sense as to make such a demand, and no respectable firm believes that the public believes such a statement, yet the statement is trotted out time after time, suggesting that if fiction is repeated often enough it may be accepted as truth.

The real truth is that the Hollander firm sought to deny basic union conditions prevailing in most of the organized trades of the country. Their representatives had several conferences with the representatives of the union for the purpose of renewing the agreement, and when the union representatives refused to allow the substi-

tution of the preferential union shop for the strict union shop, which latter means employing union members in good standing, they broke off the negotiations and decided on a lockout.

In official circles of the International Fur Workers' Union the opinion is current that Hollander & Son have been cherishing enmity to the union for years. In the strike of 1915 two strikers were killed by hired guards. Eventually the union won the strike and the victory upset the firm's open shop rule prevalent for twenty-five years. Hollander & Son have never forgiven the union its hard-earned victory and have now given vent to their vengeful feelings.

It is believed, however, that as soon as normal trade conditions return Messrs. Hollander will be glad to accept the union terms, as the workers have been sufficiently enlightened to understand that to return to work without union control would be little short of slavery.

THOUGHTFUL UNION MEN

A striking example of thoughtful union men is presented by the Carpenters' Local Union 483, of San Francisco. They seem to believe in an old business principle that no investment, no profits.

Recently their contractors have indorsed the new wage scale of \$6.00 a day, whereupon they proceeded to strengthen their local union by raising their monthly dues from \$1 to \$1.25. This is a sound union principle. The members' gain should bring a corresponding gain to the organization.

OIL STRIKE IS SETTLED

Announcement is made that the President's mediation commission has settled the southern California oil strike, which involved about 10,000 workers. The eight hour day is provided. There shall be no discrimination and a minimum wage of \$4 a day, to be effective as of December 1, is established.

COAST PHONE STRIKE ENDS BY MEDIATION

San Francisco—A coast-wide strike of electrical workers and telephone girls has been settled by President Wilson's mediation and investigating commission.

The agreement drafted by the commission for Oregon, Nevada, Washington,

Idaho and California, and accepted by the workers, includes:

Recognition of the telephones girls' unions.

Wage increases for girls earning less than \$50 a month from \$7.60 a week to \$9 in large centers; from \$7.60 to \$8, \$8.50 and \$8.60 in smaller cities; girls earning more than \$50 a month, minimum weekly increase of 50 cents.

Wage increase for men of 12½ per cent., or from \$4 to \$4.50 for journeymen, and from \$2.50 to \$2.80 a day for apprentices.

Negotiations for further increase and, on failure to agree, arbitration that will be final.

Machinery for disposing of all grievances by mutual adjustment or by United States government arbitrators in each district, by federal immigration commissioners or inspectors, as available.

The president's commission is made a party to the agreement.

The appointment of John F. Williams, retired coal operator of Chicago, as arbitrator in any future labor controversies affecting electrical workers and operators on the Pacific coast has been announced by Secretary of Labor Wilson.

STATE FIXES WOMEN'S WAGE

San Francisco.—The state industrial welfare commission has ordered that no experienced woman or minor employed in a California laundry or dry cleaning establishment shall be paid less than \$10 a week. Hours of labor are limited to eight a day and 48 a week.

"Experienced" is defined as a person who has worked in the industries 15 or more months.

Learners must be paid not less than \$8 a week for the first six months, \$9 a week for the second and \$9.50 for the ensuing three months.

All learners must be registered with the commission not later than two weeks after starting to work.

LOSSES SUSTAINED BY 18 GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN TRADE UNIONS

How the labor power of Germany is being cut down by the war is illustrated by the arrival in this country of two copies of *The Grundstein*, the weekly organ of the German Building Trade Unions. The issue

of August 4, 1917, contains a list of 1,044 members of these unions who have fallen on the battlefield, while that of March 17, 1917, gives the names of 939. About 90 per cent. of the German masons and their helpers are in the military service.

The membership of the Austrian trade unions has been reduced nearly 60 per cent. by the data found in a recent issue of *The Gewerkschaft*, the official organ of the Austrian Trade Union Commission. On January 1, 1917, the members numbered 166,907, of whom 28,907 were women, as against 372,216 men and 42,979 women members on January 1, 1914. The total membership on January 1, 1915, was 240,681, and on January 1, 1916, it was 177,113.

THE CAP MAKERS' SPECIAL CONVENTION

The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers are having a special convention, which began Sunday, December 30th, in New York City. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in Buffalo dealt with the long-standing controversy between the Cap Makers and the United Hatters of North America on the jurisdiction question of the millinery workers, and decided in favor of the Hatters, giving the national organization of the Cap Makers until April 1st to comply with a former decision to surrender the millinery field to the contesting organization.

The millinery industry, which has been the field of a number of very successful organizing campaigns on the part of the Cap Makers, has become a very important part of the Cap Markers' organization. The special convention will consider this serious problem and come to a definite decision.

ORGANIZING WOMEN

San Francisco—The Janitors' Union has started an organizing campaign among women who are being installed in this calling by employers who claim men janitors can not be secured.

Officers of the union claim that there are plenty of men available, and that the reason women are employed is that they are paid 50 per cent. less than the men. When the women are organized the union will insist that they be paid the same wages as is paid men.

WHAT IS A WORKER WITHOUT HIS UNION?

As an individual the workman is as helpless as a sapling in a tempest. He may say that he intends to work for whom he pleases for as many hours as he pleases and as much as he pleases, and he may feel that he has a moral right to do so, but he has not.

And then, again, he should know, as he will sooner or later, perhaps when it is too late, that he must ask his employer for leave to work for what he chooses to pay, and for as many hours as he desires.

Organized Labor has been able, through united action and collective bargaining, to shorten the work day, raise wages, and in many ways improve the conditions of the worker; it has prevented reductions in the pay; it has made the homes better; it has secured better clothes, better food, more comforts, and has made the shop, factory and the mine a better place in which to work.

Organized Labor has been the fighting force in state legislatures and in Congress, not only for Labor, but for all men; it has compelled the passage of laws to protect the health of the workers; to take children from the mill and the factory and place them in school; to limit the hours of labor for women and fix their wages above a living wage; to prevent the loss of lives and limbs, and to compel the payment for injuries to body or health. It has done this and more, more than we can enumerate here.

Every time Organized Labor achieves a victory it not only raises the status of the union man and his family, but of the non-union man and his family as well. And, on the other hand, when a non-union man takes another worker's place and crushes the union, it lowers the status of all workingmen, non-union and union, who share the degradation of labor.—Ex.

An American just returned from Europe tells this story:

While riding from London to Liverpool in a railway coach it happened that he was alone in the compartment with an Englishman, who appeared to be deeply engrossed in the war news of one of the papers.

Thinking to start conversation, he said in good old American slang: "Some fight, eh?"

"Yes, and some don't," was the reply.—Everybody's Magazine.

Local News and Events

(In this department, which is a regular feature of this journal every month, local life and movement is being reported for the information of our members and readers.)

Compiled By M. D. Danish

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD (N. Y. MEMBERS) IN SESSION

Brother Ab. Baroff, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International, writes:

"On December 17 a meeting of the New York members of the General Executive Board was held at the General Office. Vice-Presidents M. Amdur of Philadelphia and John F. Pierce were also present.

"President Schlesinger informed the Board that the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor had changed the time of the annual conventions from November to June, and in order that the delegates of our International should be able to attend the convention of the Federation it was necessary to change the date of our next convention the opening of which, according to our constitution, takes place on the first Monday in June.

"After due consideration it was unanimously decided that the next convention of our International shall be held beginning Monday, May 20, 1918.

"As to the question of the convention city it was decided to submit to a referendum vote of all the members the names of the following three cities, Chicago, Baltimore and Boston.

"It was further decided that the next quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board should be held February 11, 1918, in Toledo, Ohio. This meeting is expected to be quite important and interesting, as many questions to come before the convention will be considered during its deliberations."

LADIES' AND MISSES' CLOAK OPERATORS, LOCAL NO. 1

Secretary Wm. Bloom reports:

"The registration of the membership into Local No. 1 is in full swing and working smoothly. The workers are coming to the office of the union to settle their complaints; shop meetings and grievances are

being continually taken up, and the organization is fully alive to the problems and demands of the members. We have already over 4,000 members in good standing, and it is safe to assume, judging by the present rush of the operators to the organization, that before the new season has commenced we shall have every man in the trade on the books of the local.

"The general meeting on Saturday, December 22nd, dealt among other questions, with the question of nominations and elections of new officers, the raising of dues, the week work problem, the question of meeting by sections, etc. The organization is gaining strength and stability and everything points to the establishment of perfect normal conditions in Local No. 1 in the near future.

"We are moving to large, handsome headquarters, at 238 Fourth Avenue, between 19th and 20th Streets, where a big loft has been rented and is now being fitted out as a fully equipped union office. The feeling throughout the trade is that the gang of disrupters has been completely beaten and their malignant influence on the membership has been wiped out almost completely."

BOSTON CLOAKMAKERS, LOCALS NOS. 12, 24, 56 AND 73

Manager Hyman Hurwitz writes as follows:

"As indicated in my last report quite a number of our members are working at present in South Framingham, not far from Boston. The slack in our shops is increasing from day to day and things would have gone pretty hard with our men were it not for the brotherly assistance rendered to us by the local unions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, who are displaying the proper spirit of workers' solidarity, consenting to recognize our cards in their shops, notwithstanding the fact that unem-

ployment prevails in their trade also, excepting in the few shops where military garments are made. The same should be said about the raincoat makers, Local No. 7 of our International, who have consented to an exchange of cards with our members and are showing the same spirit of co-operation with our men. These acts have somewhat relieved the crisis of unemployment that is afflicting our men in Boston at present.

"We had a 'recreation' evening for our shop chairmen on the 31st of October, at which light refreshments were served and the general conditions of the trade discussed. Our members are gradually becoming trained in the ways of the trade union movement and are constantly gaining experience. Some manufacturers have closed up their shops during the last few months; some of them are trying to cast the blame upon the union, but the workers are too familiar with the tricks of their employers and understand fully that this is only a new device for scaring the workers into submission during the slack period.

"We had a conference of all the Executive Boards of our local unions on December 10th, at which President Schlesinger was present. At this conference we discussed a number of plans regarding the control of the small contracting and 'co-operation' shops, and a committee of twenty active men was appointed to take charge of this problem for the next season. The sentiment for week work is growing very strong and the movement of the International for the introduction of this system in the cloak industry all over the country is welcomed by everybody. A resolution was also adopted to endorse week work for the entire trade.

"The Joint Board has decided to engage another man in the office to assist Brother Hurwitz as business agent, in order to exert a better control over the local shops. Brother Hurwitz will act henceforth in the capacity of general organizer for the New England states for the International."

CHICAGO CLOAKMAKERS' LOCALS NOS. 44, 18 AND 81

Vice-President H. Schoolman writes:

"We have not had in our shops such slack times as the present for the last five or six years. Our workers in Chicago have during the last two seasons earned pretty

good wages, and that makes them feel the present unemployment much more keenly. These hard times will, to a certain extent, serve as a test of the comparative strength of our union. We have been told that we can boast of a good organization because we have had good seasons right along; if we shall pass over these hard times without any weakening we shall be in a position to say to our brother cloakmakers in other cities that our organization is not sustained merely by plenty of work, but much more by the consciousness that a union should be maintained and kept up under all circumstances, on the strength that it has fulfilled its obligations and met the demands of our workers.

"We have a number of new plans that we expect to carry through in our organization. They are at present being warmly discussed in all our locals. The most important of these is the creation of a fund for the building of a trade union house for our own purpose. The sentiment for this plan is widespread and we expect that our membership will soon endorse the recommendation of the Joint Board to tax each member with \$2.00 for this purpose.

"Another proposition discussed is the plan to open a co-operative food store, which is being advanced by Local No. 44. The Executive of this local has proved upon many occasions that it can carry out its plans, and there is no reason to doubt that this important undertaking will be successfully prosecuted. There is enough enthusiasm for the proposition among our workers and money will not be lacking to insure its success.

"Our pressers, who have been promised by the Board of Arbitration that air and gas irons will be installed in the pressing departments of our shops, have decided not to wait much longer, and to urge the introduction of this reform for the next season. We hope that with the assistance of the Joint Board and President Schlesinger of the International, who is interested in this matter, the pressers will achieve their aim peacefully.

"It was really a wise step on the part of Vice-President Seidman to move the headquarters of Local No. 100, the White Goods and Waistmakers' Union of Chicago, into the headquarters of the Cloakmakers' Union. We are now nearer to each other, and the feeling of fraternity that the cloak-

makers have always had towards this local has increased. Brother Schaffer, who is now managing Local No. 100, is going on with his work in a satisfactory manner, and in my opinion this local will, before long, take its place among the best locals in our International."

CLOAK AND SHIRTMAKERS OF MONTREAL, CANADA, LOCALS NOS. 13, 19 AND 61

Vice-President Halpern reports:

"Early last month, at the request of Secretary Baroff, I went to Montreal to try to settle a serious dispute which had arisen between the workers of a shop there and the local Joint Board. I found the facts to be as follows:

"The workers of the shop of M. Rother had disobeyed an order of the Joint Board to go down on strike because the firm had decided on a plan of discharging their girl finishers. It appears that the operators of the shop took a very selfish stand in the matter, and did not intend to take chances on their own jobs by supporting the finishers. They openly came out against the decision of the Joint Board and issued a leaflet in which they defended their disloyal act. When I came to Montreal the situation was rather discomfoting. I at once met with a committee of this shop and soon made clear to them the wrong they had committed. In a repentive mood they went back to the firm and told them that the girls must be reinstated before they would go back to work. The employer turned against them and began looking for strike breakers to fill their places in case they should go down.

"To-day these men are out on strike. The original decision of the Joint Board is now being carried out, and the operators of Rother's shop who could have won their point at the beginning without much effort, are now getting the punishment for their disloyal attitude towards the Joint Board. It serves as a good lesson to the Montreal cloakmakers. Whatever the outcome, the workers will know that organization men can not indulge in such amateur pranks, but must act like loyal union men, in accordance with the will of the majority of their fellow workers."

NEW YORK WAIST AND DRESS- MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 25

Secretary I. Schoenholtz writes:

"Our union has placed at its helm again an old, tried leader and veteran of the Waist and Dressmakers' organization—Brother Sol. Seidman.

"Vice-President Seidman has yielded to the demand of Local No. 25, and has left his place in Chicago, where, for over a year he had been in charge of the waistmakers' organization, Local No. 100, acting for the International, and has come to New York to become the general manager of our local. Brother Seidman has for years been identified with our organization as business agent and manager of the independent department, and his personal abilities and devotion are familiar to our workers.

"The organization is at present in the midst of negotiations with the manufacturers' association about 25 per cent. increase in wages, a forty-eight hour week work, and a settlement of the much aggravated sub-manufacturing and contracting problems. After a conference with the employers these demands are now waiting for determination by the Arbitration Board which will shortly convene. Certainly the waist and dressmakers feel that their demands are, in view of the intolerably high cost of living, perfectly just, and that they will receive consideration and satisfaction."

The Board of Arbitration it is reported will convene early this month.

BOSTON WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 49

Manager Samuel Jacobson writes:

"The Waist and Dressmakers' organization of Boston is contemplating a few changes in the existing Protocol agreement between the union and the association. The local is in a flourishing condition, and the control of our union over the waist and dress trade, and lately over the petticoat trade, is redounding to the best interests of the workers.

"We have communicated with President Schlesinger of the International, and through his efforts we have arranged to confer with the manufacturers on Wednesday, January 2, 1918, to discuss with them the contemplated changes."

WORCESTER WAIST AND WHITE GOODS WORKERS, LOCAL NO. 43

Miss Sarah Horwitz writes as follows:

"I have been in Worcester several times during the last month, and Brother Jacobson, of Boston, spent a day there with me during last week. Dull times in the shops are bringing on troubles of the usual kind. One employer is continually discharging his help, and taking advantage of the situation, he is revenging himself on the most active members of the Worcester local in his shop. One of the first ones to go was the shop chairlady, who was the most active girl in the place. Brother Jacobson went to Worcester and succeeded in reinstating her.

"We cannot, however, conduct any organized activity because of the dull season. I go to Worcester whenever they call for me and try all in my power to help them along. They know that we are interested in them, and they are very grateful to the International for the assistance that is being rendered to them. They know full well that with the first opportunity the International will endeavor to get better working conditions for them."

CHILDREN'S DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 50, NEW YORK

"Our Aim," official paper of this Local, published Dec. 21, says:

"In regard to our demands for an extra increase of wages in view of the present extraordinary cost of living, at first the representatives of the manufacturers' association proposed granting the one dollar increase a month or so in advance of time to some of the workers and so ending their obligations to them. But the representatives of the union were unable to accept this offer, because it would have been no improvement whatever.

"The spokesman of the union at the conferences was President Benj. Schlesinger of our International, and there were associated with him our local manager H. Greenberg, Business Agent Morris Sirota, Ida Kaminsky, Mollie Golub and Carl Zaluck of the Executive Board. Local No. 10, cutters, was represented by Isidor Epstein. Chas. Nagel and Max Israels. The manufacturers' association was represented by L. J. Goldberger, President; M. Hecker, Manager; I. Luck, Max Borgenicht; S. S.

Horowitz and H. Marks, attorney for the association.

"At the final conference the following conditions were agreed on:

"1. All piece workers employed in the trade shall be given an increase of 10 per cent. beginning January 1, 1918.

"2. All week workers shall receive an increase of one dollar on January 1, 1918, and an additional one dollar on March 1, 1918.

"3. Cutters shall receive an increase of two dollars on January 1, 1918.

"This is a great victory for our local, and, in a sense, a great gain for the employers, as it will enable them to proceed with their season's work without trouble and fear of interruption. It is, moreover, a triumph for the principle of peaceful negotiation.

"The strike of 1916 cannot easily be forgotten by either side. While the workers fought and suffered many weeks rather than return to the shops without the union gaining the right of protecting them, the strike was too costly an affair for the manufacturers to be repeated.

"Our childrens' dressmakers congratulate themselves on this favorable result achieved entirely through organization and union effort and they are grateful to the International and President Schlesinger personally for their valuable assistance. The result, will spur them on to further effort in strengthening the union."

BALTIMORE WAIST & WHITE GOODS WORKERS, LOCAL No. 72

Miss Anna Neary, Baltimore organizer, writes:

"Local No. 72, of Baltimore, is at last taking on new life. There is a renewal of energy manifest here, particularly since the recent visit of President Schlesinger to our city. The local Joint Board held a very lively meeting on Wednesday, December 12th, at which plans were made for an organization campaign which is to begin January 2, 1918. Arrangements are being made for the appointment of two local organizers, a man and a woman, to assist in the work. I have no doubt that a few months of the working of the new plan adopted by the Joint Board will show excellent results.

"Baltimore is one of the cities where difficulty has heretofore been experienced in

the organization of women workers. The ladies' garment trades here are largely composed of Gentile women, who have antiquated ideas about labor unions. We realize that it will take some time and energy to supplant these moss-covered ideas with good, sound progressive thought regarding the true value of organization and of collective bargaining. Those who have been loyal to the local organization during all these trying months are of the opinion that these are favorable times for an organization campaign.

"My work here has been made more difficult by the fact that many of the active members have left the trade and are now engaged in the making of uniforms. This is also true of all the Baltimore locals of the International, but the approach of the regular season in our trades will probably eliminate this difficulty to a considerable extent."

HOUSE DRESS AND KIMONO WORKERS, LOCAL No. 41

Manager Henry Zuckner reports as follows:

"When these lines will appear in print we shall have presented to our manufacturers our new demands. We are going to ask for a forty-eight hour week and for a uniform scale of wages on all parts and sections of our industry. Heretofore an employer would set his price at the time of hiring, and the union had no opportunity to exert its influence to protect their members because the bargaining was always done between them individually, without the protection of a binding scale of wages, except for learners. The workers are now demanding this change and the union will use all its efforts to obtain it.

"The agreement with the association expires in two months, and our members expect to have the new agreement written to meet their demands in full. During December, 4 o'clock in the afternoon, meetings were held in all the sections in New York and Brooklyn to endorse these demands. Literally every worker in the trade came to these afternoon meetings and all the shops stopped work at that hour. The workers endorsed these proposals with unbounded enthusiasm, as they realize that the proposed reforms safeguard their organization and protect their interests."

AMONG ITALIAN AND OTHER LADIES' TAILORS

General Organizer Alfredo La Porta, writes as follows:

"In course of the last seven years I have been with our organization, I have been painfully impressed with the obstinate opposition of some elements in our industry to a united and properly organized union. This antagonism is stronger among the needle workers than among bricklayers, house painters, carpenters, iron workers, etc. You may find among them men who claim to be above the average intellectually. Take for instance, ladies' tailors who like to be referred to as artists, designers, and originators of styles. They contribute their mind and energies to making ugliness attractive, by giving perfect lines to the garment, and to beautify and improve upon nature's faults. Still, of all the needle workers, these intellectuals do not see that isolated efforts are not conducive to proper results. They refuse to recognize the wisdom and power of organized and collective action.

"My experience has taught me that the ladies' tailor is a mixture of dreams and egotism. The most radical of them expect that social justice will come to them through the hand of a Providence, and they join the union only when they are nearly sure that they can get something from the employer through the organization. As soon as that particular thing is achieved, they drop out of line. Thus, it is pitifully strange but true that the competent tailor, who could be the leading spirit in the organization is, in the majority of cases, the worst sinner. He is the first to exaggerate the failures and to belittle the gains that the working class makes through the trade union movement.

"To counteract this influence we need, above all, education. Trade unionism must be brought into the worker's home through well-written literature and it must be done ceaselessly and continually, until conviction penetrates deep into the minds and souls of the men and women who are still out of our organization. We must never get tired of agitating, through pamphlets, papers and magazines, explaining and illustrating the meaning, possibilities and benefits of the organized labor movement. If we cannot reach all the workers through our meetings, special classes, labor univer-

sities, etc., we must employ the use of the mail box. I am sure that in the long run, even the stubborn, whether conservative or ultra radical, tailor, will see his errors, be convinced of the truth and become a good, straightforward unionist.

"I have spent several weeks in Philadelphia, among the ladies' tailors, of whom there are about 500, almost evenly divided in number between Italians and Jews. The ladies' tailoring trade is almost completely dead at this time, and only a few tailors are to be found in some places, where a few garments have to be finished. A majority of them are employed in the making of military clothing, and it is very difficult to get them to a meeting. I never had more than fifty present at any of my meetings with them.

"The majority of them are afraid to join the union. Yet, by proper effort, when the season will commence, I am certain that they will become union members. I have organized a group of a dozen Italian tailors into an organization committee. They are gathering the addresses and names of all the tailors in the city in order to enable Local No. 76 to be continually in touch with them. I expect to visit Philadelphia from time to time, and when the season begins we may enroll all of them into the union without much difficulty."

NEW YORK WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION LOCAL No. 20

Manager Phillip Berman reports:

"Our trade in New York City is in a prosperous condition, and the earnings of the workers are better than before. The majority of our men and women are engaged in making military cemented garments. In fact, we have admitted hundreds of workers of other ladies' garment trades into our shops, and they are working on equal terms with our own people. I wish to deny here, in the name of our local, the calumnies spread by ill wishers of our movement that the raincoat makers are barring International members from their shops. It is not true; the contrary is the case.

"We had nominations for officers on Saturday, December 22d, and elections will follow in January. As conditions in the local are quite satisfactory and the organ-

ization is not disturbed by any trade troubles, the members are devoting a good deal of attention to the elections, and we expect that the most active and disinterested men in our local will be returned to office.

"Our local participated quite actively in the Jewish War Relief Campaign which has been agitating the Jewish population of this city during the last month. At a special shop chairmen's meeting held in December a 10 per cent tax on the earnings of our workers for one particular week was decided upon. Then the International Union soon called the joint Executive Board meeting of all the locals in New York City and decided on the contribution of the earnings of all the members of the International on February 22d, Washington's birthday. Our Executive Board, of course, participated in this meeting and we are confident that we shall contribute no less than \$10,000 toward this worthy enterprise.

"We had a conference with the manufacturers' association in our trade, on Wednesday, December 18th, at which President Schlesinger was present. The general situation in the trade was gone over, particularly the prospects for additional government orders for cemented garments in the New York shops. It was pointed out that there was a possibility that owing to an idea of a scarcity of cementers in New York these orders might be unjustly diverted from the New York shops. After the conference President Schlesinger sent the following communication to the association:

New York Waterproof Garment

Manufacturers Association,

H. McClellan Sanborn, Sec'y.

Dear Sir:

I am eager to confirm the statement which I made to you yesterday at our conference, regarding the present trade conditions in the waterproof garment industry and its possible future developments.

Our union is confident that it will be in a position to supply whatever labor may be needed in the cementing, pasting and operating departments of all the New York waterproof garment houses, to meet all emergency demands that may be put upon them by the National Government for war purposes.

You can very safely assure the Government authorities that there will be no delay in making up and delivering all the orders for cemented garments that it may place in your shops.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Benj. Schlesinger,

BOSTON WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS, LOCAL No. 7

Brother David Kaplan, the new manager of the local writes:

"The following is a summary of the events during my six weeks in office: The trade is in a satisfactory condition and work is plentiful in all the shops. A considerable proportion of the trade is working on military garments. Our membership has lately increased 30 per cent, and after a campaign for dues which lasted three weeks and which was successfully concluded on December 15th, I can report that the entire membership of our local is fully paid up with their dues, and today we have 400 members in good standing on the rolls of the union.

"We have had during the last two weeks quite an excitable election of officers in the local. Nominations were made on December 5th, and an imposing number of candidates were placed on the ballot for the Executive Board. Elections were held on December 12th, and in spite of very bad weather, a great many members attended. Some of the most active members of the local were elected to office, including Brother Carl Cohen as president and Brother Harry Altman as vice-president. I was re-elected manager of the local.

"We are getting a fair price for our labor. We are even enabled to help our brother cloakmakers by allowing them to work on raincoats, until it again becomes busy in their shops. We feel pretty sure that our aid is appreciated by them."

NEW YORK EMBROIDERY WORKERS, LOCAL No. 6

Manager M. Weiss reports as follows:

"The situation in the embroidery trade has been stationary for a long time. While we have had a few idle workers in the trade it was not any too busy in the shops, owing to the fact that during the last season or two there was a small demand for embroidery work on waists and dresses.

"The prospects for the next season are exceedingly bright. The samples being made in the waist and underwear shops indicate clearly that there will be a big demand for embroidery in the market, and the trade will naturally respond with in-

creased activity. The embroidery workers feel sure that they are entitled to higher earnings and a general improvement of conditions in the shops. They have not received any wage increases since their last agreement was signed in 1916, and the high cost of living has since mounted very high.

"The union requested the association of the embroidery manufacturers to confer with us concerning demands for the coming season. At first the association refused to negotiate with the union. They have, however, soon reconsidered their decision when the International officers took up the matter with them. The first conference was held on Tuesday, December 18th, at which President Schlesinger was present. The union presented to the manufacturers a schedule of demands for an increase of earnings amounting to about 25 per cent. These demands were discussed at length and will be taken up for final action at another conference in the near future.

"Needless to say, the membership of our local is ready to back up the demands to the fullest extent. The workers in all other trades have materially increased their earnings during the last year in order to meet the critical food and fuel conditions and save themselves and their families from starvation. The embroiderers are entitled to an increase of wages, and they are confident that with the support of the International they will get it."

WRITTEN DURING THE PROGRESS OF THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME*

Across the blasted slope of Pozieres

Mixed with the thunder of the guns I heard,

Borne from I know not where,

The reconciling word.

Mankind, it said, live not by bread alone;

Their final good and glory is not based

On anything that shot and shell lay waste

But on the spirit; if that keep its power

Loyal and brave and sweet,

Then at the destined hour

The rest shall all be laid before its feet.

* From Ode on the European War. Odes and other Poems by R. C. K. Ensor,

Experiments of the Philadelphia Waistmakers' Union

Local No. 15

By Fannia M. Cohn

Someone has said in effect that the workers will only then be on the way to freedom when they will learn to manage their affairs on a cooperative basis. The meaning of this is that the workers being organized, will utilize their organization for various purposes, that their union shall become a medium for associating all its members for useful and profitable activities. These ideas flashed across my mind when I visited Philadelphia last month and observed certain undertakings now in course of development in the Waist, Silk Suit and Children's Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 15.

In the first place, the union has a library containing a few thousand books on social, political and economic subjects by well known authors, and a paid librarian devotes all his time to this work.

Upon spending a few hours in the office of the union at 40 North Ninth Street, on a Saturday afternoon, one may notice many young women with books under their arms waiting in line to exchange them in their own library. Adjoining the library is a reading room. Here stands a handsome oblong table surrounded by comfortable arm chairs. In another part of the room are two closets filled with tea, coffee, chocolate and sugar, and two young girls sell these articles to members. This is what they call their "co-operative store," and the two sales ladies are the committee appointed by the co-operative society. In a third room the Unity House Committee is discussing plans of raising the necessary funds to complete fixing up the house on the farm purchased by the union to afford its members vacations at nominal cost. When completed, the farm and house will cost some \$20,000. The funds for this enterprise are being raised by the sale of unity bonds to members at \$2 a piece.

Then there is the Educational Committee arranging lectures and entertainments. The Philadelphia waist makers are thirsting for knowledge and education no less than our members everywhere, and realizing that a thorough knowledge of the co-operative movement is essential to the success of their small enterprise the committee has arranged

a series of four lectures on this subject. For organized workers any knowledge of the co-operative movement is incomplete without a thorough knowledge of the trade union movement, and so the Educational Committee has also arranged a course of five lectures on the history and problems of Trade Unionism. The lectures will be given in a public school building. A mass meeting will be held on Sunday, January 6, in connection with all these activities to acquaint the members with their workings and enlist their abiding interest.

Every worker, man or woman, wishing to be active in the co-operative enterprise must become a member of the society, and every member buying a unity bond becomes a member of the Unity Circle. Each of these departments has its separate committee, which is a sub-committee of the local Executive Board, and it is the board that manages all the affairs of the union.

The advantages which the local is deriving from its co-operative undertaking are of great value; it has knit the members together and has convinced them that the union can be of use to them not only in their struggles with the employers for higher wages but also as consumers and buyers of commodities. The Unity House experiment of last summer opened their eyes to the fact.

The local also has a sick fund, and every member paying 5 cents weekly is entitled to \$5 weekly benefit for a period of six weeks.

More than 500 members take an active part in these undertakings. Every member is free to join any of the groups appealing to him or her.

All these activities afford the members an opportunity to develop their ability and enterprising spirit and to learn how to manage their affairs and be responsible for their success. They strengthen character and impart self confidence and faith in the power and possibilities of the union.

Our people as a class are idealists, full of enthusiasm, capable of making the largest sacrifices for their convictions and willing to contribute their last cent toward any ob-

ject appealing to their sentiments in the name of idealism. A strike, for instance, appeals to our people very much, and they will never tire of fighting; they will endure the worst suffering, but will not give up the struggle so long as there is the slightest hope of victory. We wage the hardest struggles for the recognition of the union. This is an admirable trait of character. But there is this defect: As soon as the object is won the enthusiasm for the union flags, notwithstanding all the suffering endured.

Some people think that this is because the union satisfies only a part of the workers' requirements—the economic and prosaic—while they have to seek satisfaction for the higher and nobler parts of their nature through other social agencies.

I believe that we have made a mistake right at the beginning in limiting the activities of our unions to strikes and shop agitation. Perhaps because our unions were small and insignificant we could not act otherwise. For under those circumstances any undertaking not strictly confined to improvement of conditions was bound to fail. But now when most of our locals have thousands of members in a number of cities, and when every genuine progressive movement, in accord with the principles of the labor movement can secure hundreds of adherents, we should encourage and urge forward every enterprise that can benefit our members. On account of our large membership it is possible to court real success, provided there should be good, reliable management.

All progressive workers appreciate the importance of the economic struggle and the valuable service of the union in improving conditions by every possible means. Only in this way will the movement lead to the eventual emancipation of the workers.

Unfortunately many people wait for the social revolution, dreaming of the changed appearance of society the morning after the revolution. They wait for some one to knock at their door and announce the advent of the social revolution. Those, however, who believe that the social revolution is going on, that we are daily participating therein, and it is only a question whether we are participating consciously or unconsciously, must learn to be practical idealists in the union. They must realize that a union is never too small for the biggest nor too big for the smallest. In the union

there is room for those who want to learn as well as for those who can teach.

To the members of Local No. 15 I want to say this: Remember that it is easy to launch an enterprise with enthusiasm but difficult to keep up the enthusiasm after the enterprise has been established. You have begun many activities in your union for which you deserve praise, and it is to be hoped that many of our locals will imitate your example. They will follow you when your activities prove permanently successful, and this renders your responsibility all the greater.

You, sisters and brothers, are experimenting with your union. People are wondering whether a union, of which 85 per cent. are young women, will have success in all these undertakings.

*We have in our ranks a large number of skeptics—people who as yet do not understand that the best place to develop the workers' spirit of enterprise and educate them in practical work is the union. The union is the place where the worker should learn to be a legislator, an executive member. The union should be the school where the workers can learn to be worthy and capable of ultimately taking over the work and the affairs of the entire community and conduct them for the benefit of all.

* * *

In conclusion, I ought to refer to the warm-hearted and generous response of the thousands of men and women of Local No. 15 to the appeal for relief of our unfortunate sisters and brothers in the war zone. When the movement for collecting funds was started in the locals of our International union, Local No. 15, promised to collect among its members \$2,500, but the local has actually contributed \$5,100, more than double the amount. These collections were made as follows: The workers pledged half a day's wages, and if these half days in the aggregate amounted for a given shop, let us say, \$200, all the workers engaged on a quantity of work worth in wages \$200 and handed over this sum to the union for the relief fund. The same method was followed in every shop.

Such generosity and sacrifice for the ideal is very praiseworthy. I cannot forget the scene of joy and tender sympathy evinced by hundreds of young women and men, most of them seemingly still in their teens, their eyes sparkling and moist with tears, while

listening to the report by Brother Silver, manager of the union, of the sums collected in the shops. The report made them feel proud of their union. The scene was evidence of how a union may be utilized for all kinds of idealist objects, of how it is possible to move the members to sacrifice for such objects as they believe in and appreciate.

* * *

Local No. 15 realizes the importance of acquainting its members with the history of the local and has decided to celebrate the third anniversary of its reorganization on April 1, 1918, by issuing to its members the history of the local in pamphlet form.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

The Educational Program of Our Union

In the November issue of the *Ladies' Garment Worker* Sam Kohn of Baltimore, desires the Educational Committee to answer a number of very pertinent questions as to the way the educational work will be conducted. The first question is: how can we draw indifferent people into such a big plan of courses and classes?

The answer to this is that we can try to rouse them from their indifference by gradual process. If we do not get all of them at once we can get as many of them as possible and the rest will follow in due time.

The second question, how the plan will be worked out in the smaller cities. This, again, is a question of time.

First, the scheme is to be tried in New York City, where the great majority of the workers live and work. It is desirable that every local shall get its local educational committee into harness, appoint an energetic secretary and let him communicate with the general Educational Committee in New York. Every information with regard to starting the work in his city will be placed at his disposal.

The work has been started in New York because here there are greater facilities. The committee has secured public school buildings in various districts where our educational activities will be carried on. As soon as the experiment in New York City will prove a success we intend to introduce the same activities in the country locals.

The answer to the third question, "how will the local courses be arranged in the smaller locals?" is as follows:

To make it possible for anyone to lecture on the history of a certain local, it is necessary that the local educational committee should collect all the information concerning the time and circumstances under which the Local was organized, the number of strikes conducted by the local, the causes of the strikes, the demands submitted to the employers or association of employers, the duration of the strikes, the gains secured, the educational and social activities of the local and other important events connected with the life of a given local. This information might be gathered from the minutes of the executive board and members' meetings and by consulting the older and more active members of the local.

Then entrust all this information to any experienced lecturer on labor and trade unionism in your city, who can be relied on to arrange the material so as to make the lecture interesting and instructive.

The Educational Committee will appreciate any further inquiries and furnish every information.

Educational Committee.

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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Plans and Achievements of Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

The seventh year of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress industries has been marked by a number of new features and achievements. The Board is always forging ahead with some new enterprise for the benefit of all parties in the industry and the health of the workers.

The annual report of the Director, Dr. George M. Price, aptly says by way of introduction:

"The industries represented in the Board have abandoned the old 'public be damned' attitude and have given recognition to the interdependence of industry and social welfare, to the paramount interest of the public in industrial, economic and sanitary conditions and to the great importance of the good will of the public to industrial progress.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control aims to be the Health Department, the Fire Department and the Labor Department of our industries. It does work that the government, the state and the municipality cannot very well do for every industry."

During last year the Joint Board of Sanitary Control has been perfecting its various departments, namely:

1. The department of fire protection in the shops and factories in connection with which frequent inspections and re-inspections are carried out at regular periods.

2. The department of fire drill, which service is co-operative and paid for by the manufacturers concerned. These drills are conducted monthly in 786 shops, benefiting 32,000 workers, forty-four, per cent. of all the workers in the two industries.

3. Inspections for sanitary purposes in some 2,700 shops and factories in both industries.

4. First aid and nursing service in the waist and dress industry. This department was started some two years ago and has been of great benefit to the women workers. The Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association pays for the services of a nurse, while the Joint Board of Sanitary Control provides first aid kits at cost. It was probably this department that suggested the extension of the Board's health work among the workers in the industry referred to below, for the nurse not only visits the shops

and factories but sees the workers in their homes and in this way discovers slight physical indisposition, which if not attended to promptly is apt to develop into serious complications.

5. Educational Work. All this work of the Board could not be effective unless accompanied by certain information and knowledge which is imparted to the workers as well as manufacturers. Such information is disseminated by every available means of publicity, and particularly by health talks to the workers at their shop meetings.

In this connection the Educational Department is co-operating with the educational agencies of the union. Every Thursday night during the winter, health lectures are given by prominent men sent by the Board, at Public School No. 40, New York, for the waist and dressmakers.

Coming to the subject of its health work—the Board organized a medical division in 1913, which serves directly three of the biggest locals of the International, Local Nos. 9, 23 and 35.

The report says:

"The success of the medical work has led to the establishment during the last year of a Diagnostic and Therapeutic Clinic. Since July 1st we not only examine the workers and give them advice, but also give them treatment, arrange for examinations by specialists, and, generally, do the work of an industrial dispensary without the usual atmosphere of the ordinary charitable institution.

"The Medical Clinic, although at first endowed by the Board, has been for the last three years financially independent of the Board and financed by the Unions taking advantage of its service."

7. The latest department of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control—the Dental Clinic—has attracted particular attention on account of its novelty and the cheap, yet efficient service rendered to the workers of the ladies' garment industry. To quote the report:

"The examination of nearly twenty-five thousand workers in our Medical Clinic has shown that about seventy-five per cent. of our workers suffer from serious dental defects, which not only affect the teeth locally,

but are the causes of serious gastric, cardiac, rheumatic and nervous diseases.

"Of the seventy-five per cent. of the workers suffering from dental defects, only a comparatively insignificant number were shown to have remedied the defects by proper dentistry. Most of the others have either entirely neglected the dental defects or have had their teeth treated by the ordinary cheap dentists who, instead of correcting the defects, made them worse by gold capping, bridges and various other faulty dental work. The workers not only were compelled to pay exorbitant sums for attention to their teeth, but this expenditure of money actually did them greater harm than good. . . .

per week since its establishment.

The Dental Clinic is completely equipped with four chairs, X-ray apparatus, etc., and since its opening has been popular with the workers and successful financially, in that it pays its expenses.

"The work done in the clinic is not only prophylactic and clinical, but also educational, as it not only corrects but also seeks to educate the workers in taking proper care of the teeth and mouth and thus promote their general health.

"On October 1st the clinic has been re-organized with a staff of four very able and competent dentists under a Dental Director and we have been treating nearly one hundred and fifty patients a week, with an in-



Waiting Room of Medical Clinic

"In our Dental Clinic, which has been equipped with the most modern appliances and has been commended by members of the National Dental Association as unique in many respects, we have been for the last six months practicing modern scientific dentistry in an ethical way, with charges to the workers based on cost.

"The Dental Clinic has been in existence twenty-four weeks, has treated over six hundred individual patients, has on the average treated one hundred patients a week, and has taken in about one hundred dollars

come during October of about \$650.00. The clinic still shows a small deficit but we hope this will disappear within a short time."

That the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is forging ahead, striving to serve the sanitary and health interests of all who spend time and service in the industry is shown from the new department opened on January 5, 1918—a Nose, Throat and Ear Department of the Medical Division. It will be open every Saturday from 1 p. m. to 3 p. m.

The Gold Watch

A Characteristic Court Scene

From the Yiddish of A. Epstein, by A. Rosebury.

Both were elderly, gray-haired people. The only difference was the wrinkled and yellowish face of the woman, her eyes devoid of fire and life, and the ruddy complexion and bright, lively eyes of the man. I noticed the difference as soon as I entered. These elderly people seldom come here. The quarrels and differences occur mostly among the younger couples. Old people with one foot on the brink of the grave don't quarrel. However hard and full of troubles life is for them the long years of living together must even out their character and engender mutual peace and devotion. This elderly couple, however, confronted each other with hate and angry glances.

"It's six weeks, your Honor, since he left home and has not given me a penny to live on."

"Have you any children?"

"A daughter, your Honor, married, living in another city."

"How long have you been married?"

"Twenty-seven years."

An audible murmur filled the room. Some laughed aloud. There were many present who had not yet reached that age.

"Has he always mistreated you?"

"Occasionally, your Honor."

"Do you want him to return home?"

"I don't care. Let him not come, but let him give me for support."

"How much do you want a week?"

"Ten dollars, your Honor, will be enough for me."

The man uttered a mocking laugh, as if he had heard the most comical thing, and his sardonic smile did not forsake him, even when he took the witness stand.

"How do you account for your leaving your wife without means of support?"

"I account for it in that she is a thief."

"A thief!"

"Yes sir, a thief. She was a thief and will remain so until her death. I will not live with her any longer under one roof. I've suffered enough at her hands."

His sardonic mirth now turned into indignation. Apparently his statement was

no careless rigmarole. It seemed to have been based on solid fact. His demeanor impressed all present because he evinced firmness, pride and certainty. She, on the other hand, sat in a corner crying, her head supported by her hands—the best evidence of guilt.

"I shall ask you to tell the whole story," the old judge said commandingly, casting a side glance at the old woman.

The accused related as follows:

Ever since he had married he had not lost a day's work. He was receiving the highest wages, being a skilled mechanic. Employers vied with each other to secure his services. In this regard he had nothing to complain of, yet his lot was less enviable than that of other workers in the same shop. They were always having some money with them, coming and going as they wished. He, however, had never a cent with him. She had always taken away his last penny, and he had to ask her for the pottiest allowances.

At first it had not appeared to him so strange. He had rather liked the idea. A brave little woman, he had thought; she knew how to handle money. Besides, he had been young and foolish and everything had seemed well and good. In later years he had come to see that this was not the right way. While his friends had spent the time happily at balls and picnics, treating each other at bars to their hearts' content, he alone had had no money to spend on such things. His friends had laughed at his being henpecked by his wife and had called him humiliating names. One day he had proposed to take a part of his earnings for spending money, insisting that he had a right to live like other men of his station in life. But at this a serious family row had broken out. In a shrill, domineering voice she had put her foot down on the proposition. He should do nothing of the kind. She had ruled once and for all, and nothing should unbend her from her set purpose, and to clinch the matter she had told him in plain words that all he possessed was hers.

After this he had taken to concealing petty sums, but she had unearthed them, carefully searching in all corners and turning out his pockets. It was for his good, she had declared. Going to a ball would do him no good; as for a glass of beer—that was surely poison for him. Better and healthier by far to stay at home. He continued:

"In all the long years of hard work I saved up a gold watch—I paid for it \$136. I have had it for eighteen years, and it has become part of my life, like my own hand. I cannot live without it. On Sundays and holidays I must carry it along with me. The habit has become my second nature. Somehow I feel happier when the gold chain wobbles about my person; it makes me feel more manly. She knows this very well, and started punishing me by hiding the watch. For the least thing the watch disappears and I have to swear to her by all that is holy to be good and obey her to have the watch back again.

"Some months ago I happened to come home rather 'jolly.' We had a party in the shop and all had several drinks. How could I stand aside from the others? True, it cost me \$5, but what of it? And when I came home I faced 'some music' that made one reel with pain and shame. By appearance she is a very quiet person, but when she gets excited she vomits fire and brimstone, roars like lions and tigers until one's very life is in danger. The result was that she took my watch away and has not returned it. She says that she threw it into the river, but I know that was not true. I begged her with tears in my eyes to return it to me. I promised to be good, but it was no use. Maybe she pawned it or perhaps she really threw it into the river.

"This I could not stand any longer and went to live with my sister. That is all, your Honor, I have to say."

The plaintive woman took the stand moaning.

"Is the statement he just made to the court true? Did you really take his watch away?"

"Yes sir, I did take it away, but let him tell me straight to the face that it was his; indeed, let him tell me that."

She moved a step and, bending over the table to the old man, exclaimed:

"Well, why don't you speak? Is it yours?" and, as he did not reply, she turned to the judge triumphantly:

"There, now, he is ashamed to tell such a lie. You see, your Honor, who he is?"

"But whose then is the watch? Will you tell the story in detail."

"Your Honor, I've not pawned the watch nor thrown it into the river. I have it with me. Here it is," and saying this, she pulled from her bosom a large shining watch suspended from a thick long chain. When the old man saw it he jumped up with joy, stretched out his hands to the watch and uttered a shriek.

"My God! that's it, my watch, my—"

The courtroom rang with laughter. Even the apparently very stern looking judge laughed aloud.

"But it is not his, your Honor. I bought the watch. I've scraped every penny together until I got the \$136. I've never bought myself a dress; never went to the theater or a ball. Day and night I stayed at home and tried to make it nice for him and the child, that they should not be short of anything. Do you know, your Honor, what it means to bring up a child, provide it with clothes, have it educated and care for it until it grows up? Do you know how hard this is for a family of working people? I've brought up a good daughter, had her taught and educated. She is happy now, for through her education she was able to get a good husband; and besides all this, look at my husband, how well he looks. Do you know, he is already sixty-two years old, and I am eight years younger. Yet how young and fresh he looks and how worn and shrivelled I am. That's because I made up my mind right at first that my husband should not go to saloons and be out with company all night long. He is a working man, working hard, and should have a good home, regular meals and proper sleep. I know what it means when working men start drinking, how quickly they get ruined and die before their time, and I would not have it.

"Yes, I bought the watch. He hasn't even dreamt of such a thing. It was the present I gave him in the tenth year of our being married. It was quite a surprise. It pleased him; it made him as joyful as a child, and I told him there and then that so long as he will keep himself like a man

Organization and Leadership Rule the World

By the Late Robt. F. Hoxie, Prof. Political Economy, Chicago University.

Organization and leadership rule the world. The organized worker is no longer a slave to the whims of the master.

Since the dawn of civilization the fate of the downtrodden has depended upon two great factors—organization and leadership.

But gradually through their bitter experience the workers were taught the two great lessons of life: that the primal rights of man and decencies of life—labor with dignity, health and safety, the comfortable home, the sheltered and unbroken family circle, education and recreation—are not automatic rewards for the good and meritorious individual, are not let down from heaven or the State, but must be wrung from privilege and interest; and, secondly, that in the struggle for these things the individual is nothing—the group is all. For what power has the individual against the State, and what force the one worker against the master of hundreds of thousands?

Then began the organization of the workers for the workers, and so dawned a new era of hope and betterment for the men of labor. But for long the new struggle was almost fruitless. The lesson had not been all learned. Organization alone, it was found, could effect little, either under the rule of legal restriction or the freedom of competition and bargaining. Without skilled and trusted representatives of their own, trained leadership drawn from the men of toil, the workers were still helpless. Men they needed who had suffered with them,

men of force and experience who had learned the intricacies and subtleties of trade and politics, to unify the workers' viewpoint, to unite the scattered organic groups, who could meet craft with craft, special knowledge with special knowledge, and backed by the solid array of millions of united men, could defy the threat of force and the unjust manipulation of the law.

It is the proudest boast of labor and the greatest cause for cheer that out of this need and stress such leaders arose that in the main they have proved true to their comrades and the cause, and that the rank and file under their guidance are fast learning the lessons of solidarity, discipline and the necessity of good leadership.

To-day, as in the past, organization and leadership rule the world. But to-day, as never before, we behold organization and leadership of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers. Of the outcome there can be no doubt. No longer is the organized worker a slave to the whim of the master, dependent for his bread upon subservency under driving and insult, but a man dignified by the consciousness of rights recognized and sustained, for he has practically won already a right to his job, a living wage.

It needs now no prophetic eye to see the time not far distant when autocracy shall have been driven from its last stand; when democracy in government and industry shall prevail; when dignity, security and comfort shall be the lot of all who toil; when organized labor shall have triumphed.

the watch will be his, but as soon as he will start to drink I will take it away. He promised to be good and he kept his word for a long time. I don't complain of the past. Some times we had a few words, but this is only human, no great misfortune. But two months ago he came home dead drunk. He spent \$5, and when I spoke to him about it he was going to strike me and insulted me, calling me all sorts of names. He said that I've annoyed him all his life and he would not look at me any more; that he was tired of me. What then was I to do, keep quiet? Oh, no. He insulted and hurt me too much. I simply took the watch away. That was our agree-

ment, and only did what was right.

"Let him give me support. I've deserved it. If not for me, he would perhaps be dead now. I am old and weak and cannot work. Let him pay for all the good I've done to him," she concluded sobbing.

"But my watch—let her return me my watch, the old man cried beside himself, I will be good, but let her return me my watch," the old man cried beside himself, stretching out his hands to the old woman.

After a brief conversation in a separate room the couple came out arm in arm in friendly fashion, bowing in gratitude to the old judge, who regarded them smiling good-humoredly.

Directory of Local Unions (Continued)

LOCAL UNION

OFFICE ADDRESS

40. New Haven Corset Workers.....12 Parmelee Ave., New Haven, Conn.
41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union.....814 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers.....126 Green St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
45. Syracuse, N. Y., Dressmakers.....913 Almond St., Syracuse, N. Y.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union.....231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors.....387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Canada
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....409 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
55. Springfield Corset Workers.....643½ Main St., Springfield, Mass.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....241 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....80 E. 10th St., New York City
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers....37 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Canada
62. New York White Goods Workers.....35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....5th St. and Central Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....57 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union.....Fraternal Building, St. Louis Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....120 W. Bancroft St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....99 Canton St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....2726 Crystal St., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....8 Lovering St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....25 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....1737 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....54 Burton St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Union....725 Lexington Ave., N. Y. City
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....909 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
82. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squarers & Bushelers' Union...228 Second Ave., N. Y. City
83. Toronto, Canada, Cutters.....251 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
84. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio
85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....5th St. and Central Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....St. John, N. B., Canada
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....Forward B'ldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....251 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....5th St. and Central Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
99. Pittsburgh Ladies' Tailors.....132 Worcester St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers..1579 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....1193 Clark St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
108. Ladies' Neckwear Cutters.....6 E. 17th St., New York City
110. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
111. Cleveland Raincoat Makers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
112. Montreal, Canada, Ladies' Waist Makers.....147 Colonial Ave., Montreal, Canada
113. Newark Waist and White Goods Workers.....103 Montgomery St., Newark, N. J.

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Directory of Local Unions

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2. Philadelphia Cloakmakers.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
3. New York Piece Tailors.....9 W. 21st St., New York City
4. Baltimore Cloakmakers.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
5. New Jersey Embroiderers.....144 Bergenline Ave., Union Hill, N. J.
6. New York Embroiderers.....133 2nd Ave., New York City
- ⑦ Boston Raincoat Makers.....38 Causeway St., Boston, Mass.
8. San Francisco Ladies' Garment Workers.....362—19th Ave.
9. New York Cloak and Suit Tailors.....228 Second Ave., New York City
10. New York Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters..7 W. 21st St., New York City
11. Brownsville, N. Y., Cloakmakers.....219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ⑫ Boston Cloak Pressers.....751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
13. Montreal, Canada, Cloakmakers.....37 Prince Arthur, E. Montreal, Canada
14. Toronto, Canada, Cloakmakers.....194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
15. Philadelphia Waistmakers.....40 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
16. St. Louis Cloak Cutters.....Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
17. New York Reefermakers.....117 Second Ave., New York City
18. Chicago Cloak and Suit Pressers.....1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
19. Montreal, Canada, Cloak Cutters.....1178 Cadieux, Montreal, Canada
20. New York Waterproof Garment Workers.....20 E. 13th St., New York City
21. Newark, N. J., Cloak and Suitmakers.....103 Montgomery St., Newark, N. J.
22. New Haven, Conn., Ladies' Garment Workers, 83 Hollock St., New Haven, Conn.
23. New York Skirtmakers.....231 E. 14th St., New York City
- ⑭ Boston Skirt and Dressmakers' Union.....751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
25. New York Waist and Dressmakers.....16 W. 21st St., New York City
26. Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
27. Cleveland Skirt Makers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
28. Seattle, Wash., Ladies' Garment Workers.....153—15th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
29. Cleveland Cloak Finishers' Union.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
30. Cincinnati Ladies' Garment Cutters.....411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
31. Ladies' Garment Workers.....721 N. Market St., Louisville, Ky.
32. Winnipeg Ladies' Garment Workers.....Labor Temple, Winnipeg, Man.
33. Bridgeport Corset Workers.....414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
34. Bridgeport Corset Cutters.....414 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
35. New York Pressers.....228 Second Ave., New York City
- ⑯ Boston Ladies' Tailors.....751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
37. Cleveland Cloak Pressers' Union.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
39. New Haven Corset Cutters.....393 Columbus Ave., New Haven, Conn.

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*Named shoes are frequently made
in Non-Union factories*

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

*no matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and
readable impression of this UNION STAMP*

*All shoes without the UNION STAMP
are always Non-Union*

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the **UNION STAMP**
BOOT and SHOE WORKERS' UNION

TWO-FORTY-SIX SUMMER STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN F. TOBIN, President

CHAS. L. BAINE, Sec'y Treas.

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Vol. IX

MARCH, 1918

No. 3

OUR NEXT CONVENTION IN BOSTON

Every convention of a great international union has an importance of its own. Our own conventions in recent years have been very important, each in its own way. Our next convention, the fourteenth in the history of our International, will likewise have its special significance.

The convention will be held at a time when the world is in the pangs of birth. All civilized countries seem to be travailing in pain—a new order is slowly and painfully being evolved from the destruction and confusion of the present system. Capitalism has practically broken down. It has proved incompetent, because too selfish, to conduct the great national industries in a great world crisis. Instead of helping to surmount the crisis, it has proved a hindrance, and governments had to step in, push aside private enterprise in the largest and most important industries, and take them under their own control.

In taking over these industries, the governments of the countries where private enterprise had ruled unchecked perceived somewhat reluctantly that national welfare depends on the working people; that to preserve their integrity and save themselves from threatening disaster they must live in peace with the organized workers and improve their conditions of labor. This change in the conception of the worthy part performed by labor in the preservation of Society is taking place even in our own great country. It is now entirely up to the workers themselves whether this change should be further evolved and completed.

The spirit of the time is such as to make every worker thoughtful and conscious of the aim and direction of the labor movement. It is certain that our fourteenth convention, which will begin its sessions in Boston on Monday, May 20, will similarly derive inspiration from the stirring times in which we live. The most important questions before the convention should be regarded in this light: namely, that labor has risen in the scale and has become an estimable factor in our national life. The workers in our industry are also in a position to effect a better future for themselves, if they will only realize that to do so they must be completely organized, presenting a solid front.

* * *

In the seventeen months that have elapsed since the last convention in Philadelphia many notable events have occurred. In the first few months we conducted a series of organizing campaigns in various parts of the coun-

try to draw the unorganized into line. Our General Executive Board has endeavored, as far as possible, to carry out the resolution of the Philadelphia convention, and has spared neither money nor effort to ameliorate the condition of our people in a number of cities and branches of industry.

In New York almost all of our locals, with our co-operation and support, won increases in wages, in most cases, by negotiation in conference. The cloakmakers, waist and dressmakers, children's dressmakers, white-goods workers, ladies' tailors, raincoat makers, kimono and house-dress workers—in all these trades the workers have improved and strengthened their economic position.

In cities out of New York our local unions have put on record similar achievements. In Cincinnati and Toronto we achieved notable victories. In Philadelphia the cloak-makers and waist-makers improved their position. In Chicago we had a great moral victory in spite of a systematic persecution and prosecution conducted by a powerful trio—the employers, the police and injunction judges. Our Local No. 100, consisting of skirt, waist, dress, kimono, and white-goods workers, renewed its existence and has become a factor in the industry, although officially we did not win the strike. In Montreal we conducted an up-hill struggle and achieved a partial victory—partial because the strike lasted the entire season. In other cities—Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis and elsewhere—we have kept up our agitation, calling the unorganized to unity and organization. In Boston we put our cloakmakers' locals through a purifying process and placed the organization in a salutary atmosphere. Several months ago the petticoat makers of that city won a strike and joined the Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 49, in large number.

During the interval circumstances occurred requiring exceptionally drastic measures resorted to for the first time in the history of our International Union. We mean the trouble with the cloak operators of New York as a result of which the General Executive Board felt in duty bound to reorganize the Cloak Operators' Union, Local No. 1, root and branch. For a long time the canker grew, causing pain and unrest in the ranks of the cloakmakers. Finally the General Executive Board performed the necessary operation. The cankerous growth was cut out by the roots, and the new Local No. 1 grafted in the place of the old one exhibits every sign of healthy, normal growth and is full of future promise.

The elected delegates will come to the convention conscious of the fact that the organization has difficult problems to solve for the near future, but is free from internal disorder, and that it enjoys a high prestige, not only in our industry, but in the public opinion of the country at large.

In accordance with a decision of the General Executive Board, President Schlesinger will visit all the locals in course of the next two months, with a view to studying at first hand their associated life, their condition and their future prospects. Subsequently he will embody his impressions in the report of the General Executive Board to the convention, together with appropriate and needful recommendations looking to the promotion of their welfare and the welfare of the organization as a whole.

As already alluded to, our organization is confronted with certain problems of far-reaching importance, and the fourteenth convention will be called upon to find their true solution. It is, therefore, desirable that our locals should take them into serious consideration, so that the delegates to be elected by them shall be properly informed upon the questions to be dealt with in order to discuss them with cool deliberation, as it is essential that these questions shall be decided with justice and fairness and for the benefit of all concerned.

One of these questions is the introduction of week work and a minimum wage in the cloak trade and other trades, as far as possible and practicable. An agitation for week work among the cloakmakers of New York has been in progress for a considerable time. In the last few months the question has been dealt with editorially in the *Ladies' Garment Worker*. In those editorial articles President Schlesinger discussed the subject from every angle and with profound conviction. They who read the articles have felt that week work is an urgent and pressing reform; that week work will place the trade on a normal, sound basis, will deliver the piece workers from a slavish yoke they have fastened upon themselves and remedy many evils in the shops. Just as the abolition of home work in 1910 brought rest and freedom to the workers and their families, so the abolition of piece work will bring ease of mind and less anxiety. Week work will mean almost an industrial revolution and a new, healthier atmosphere within the organization. Many cloak operators and finishers are already working week work. The convention will have to decide the question once for all, and it is possible that the next fall season will see the ideal of week work fully realized.

Another important point is the ever-recurrent question of organization, which absorbs much time at every convention. In the last few years there have been many economic disturbances in our industries and consequent poor seasons for the workers. At the present time, however, all our people are working full time. This shows that the condition of the industry is becoming normal again. It is certain that in the next two years there will be a shortage of labor in the ladies' garment trades all over the country. Such circumstances are highly favorable for organizing work on a large scale. Under such circumstances the American workers in a number of trades have extended their ranks.

This vexed question has been worrying us for a number of years. So long ago as in 1910, at the convention then also held in Boston, the close connection between *successful organizing work and ample financial resources* had been definitely established; and we have since been hammering away at the point that if our International should have to solicit donations in every protracted strike, it would be more advisable to have no such strikes.

As soon as organizing work is begun in any new field we must be prepared to meet all the cost incidental to every strike and be prepared to wage strikes with stubborn employers, perhaps for weeks and months. Thus the question of organization, from beginning to end, resolves itself into a question of finances. Let us hope that the fourteenth convention in Boston will make a serious attempt to solve the organization question.

A NOTEWORTHY EXEMPTION FOR OUR INDUSTRY

Last month our International Union succeeded in securing for the ladies' garment industry an exemption which attracted wide attention. This was, namely, the permission which our President Schlesinger, with the assistance of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, received from Dr. Garfield, the Federal Fuel Administrator, exempting the ladies' garment industry from the operation of the heatless and lightless order and thus enabling our people to work on the proscribed Mondays.

Following is the correspondence between President Schlesinger and Dr. H. Garfield:

FROM PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER TO DR. GARFIELD

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union respectfully requests that the order of the Fuel Administration dated January 17th, 1918, be amended either by wholly excepting all manufacturing plants engaged exclusively in the production of women's apparel from the operation of said order with reference to the remaining Mondays between January 28th and March 25th, 1918, or at least by substituting Saturdays for such Mondays, and in support of its request the Union submits the following facts and reasons:

The women's wear industry in the United States employs about two hundred and fifty thousand workers, almost all of whom are located within the section of the country affected by the order of the Fuel Administrator. Of this number more than half are members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The principal branches of the industry are the cloak and suit industry, which employs about half of the total number of workers, the waist and dress, underwear, and similar industries.

The center of the industry is the City of New York, which employs about one hundred thousand workers in approximately forty-five hundred establishments.

Owing to variation of styles and other special conditions, the women's garment industry is highly seasonal. Repeated and numerous investigations, private and governmental, disclose that the workers in this industry have employment on the average of only six months in the year. The period of employment is comprised within two working seasons, the spring season which begins about the first day of February and lasts about ten or twelve weeks, and the fall season which begins about the month of September and has a similar duration. Between seasons about thirty thousand women's garment workers in the City of New York are totally idle, while the remainder work part time, some times on an average of one or two days a week. During the periods of idleness the workers mostly contract debts, and in order to exist at all, they must earn enough in the short busy periods not only to maintain themselves and their families during such periods, but also to make up for the shortage in the preceding period of idleness and to provide to some extent for the succeeding period of idleness.

The order of the Fuel Administrator works particular hardship on the workers in our industry and their families for the following reasons:

1. The nine remaining workless Mondays designated in the order of the Fuel Administrator come exactly within the period of the spring season, i. e., at a time when every day of work and wages counts most heavily for the workers. The nine enforced holidays will represent an absolute and total loss to the workers. They can not make up for the loss of such days on the theory that the spring season would be lengthened thereby, because no working period in the industry can be extended beyond the ordinary term on account of the seasonal character of the

work. They can not expect to be paid for the idle Mondays because a majority of the employees are piece workers and are paid only for work actually done, and with very few and insignificant exceptions, the employers in the industry have refused to pay even their week workers for such Mondays.

The preceding period of idleness in the industry has been exceptionally long and severe and the majority of the workers are in a condition of acute destitution. They can not physically stand a substantial curtailment of their earnings during the short season now beginning.

2. Another special reason why the order of the Fuel Administrator works particular hardship on the workers in the industry is that the great majority of them are Jews, many of whom observe Saturday as their day of Sabbath. These work ordinarily five days a week, and with the elimination of Mondays they will be reduced to only four work-days just at the time when they would have the opportunity to work. Such a condition threatens to cripple the industry, aside from inflicting untold hardship and privation upon the workers.

3. In an effort to overcome the handicap upon the industry it is quite likely that a large number of manufacturers will keep their establishments working overtime during the remaining five days of the week, including Saturdays.

The workers in the women's garment industry have fought many years for a regulated and reasonable work-day in their industry, and have finally succeeded in establishing a work-week of forty-nine or fifty hours and the observation of Saturdays as holidays. If the manufacturers in our industry be permitted to go back to long work-days during the period covered by the order of the Fuel Administrator, the great danger is that the working standards in the industry, established with so much struggle and sacrifice, will be demoralized and destroyed forever.

As far as the object of fuel conservation is concerned, it would be totally defeated because in working additional hours at night, at least the same amount of coal would be consumed for heat and power and additional coal for light.

4. The fuel consumed in clothing factories is but a small item as compared with fuel used in other manufacturing plants. In the first instance large sections of the workers employed in such establishments, such as cutters, finishers, trimmers, button sewers, etc., work by hand, and the sewing machine consumes comparatively little power. The difference between the coal required in such establishments for the prevention of injury to the plant from freezing and the amount of coal required for the operation of the plant is so small, and the saving so insignificant, that it does not justify the extraordinary hardship which the Monday closings inflict upon the workers in the industry.

The reason why the Union suggests the substitution of Saturdays as an alternative to the total exemption of the industry is because, as above indicated, many employees in the industry do not work on Saturdays, while those who do, work only half a day and consequently would lose only half their wages.

Respectfully submitted,

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,

Benj. Schlesinger, President.

DR. GARFIELD'S ANSWER FOLLOWS

February 7, 1918.

Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Dear Mr. Schlesinger:

In the light of the facts presented to me, I am satisfied that injustice will be done the Ladies' Garment Workers if they are required to lay off on Mondays.

The State Fuel Administrators are, therefore, being instructed to allow coal to be furnished where necessary to heat and light the lofts and work shops occupied by the members of the Union of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) H. Garfield,

UNITED STATES FUEL ADMINISTRATOR.

It will be remembered that Dr. Garfield's order was strictly enforced because it was a war order. The wisdom of the order was much questioned by manufacturers and persons fully supporting the war policy of the Government. Naturally many people were thrilled with wonder at the exemption granted to the ladies' garment industry upon the request of our union. Some of our own manufacturers suddenly opened their eyes to the potent influence of our International Union. Heretofore they stubbornly refused to believe in the potency of our influence, even in the face of facts.

If this should seem mysterious to some of our employers, we should like to enlighten them on the point. Our wide influence is due to the business methods we pursue in dealing with the manufacturers. In the eight years during which our Union has become prominent in the labor movement and industrial centers our representatives have invariably employed reason and common sense in all undertakings of historical import for our Union. There was hardly a case in our industrial struggles and hostile attacks upon us in which we failed to emerge justified and vindicated. Public opinion, exclusive of the manufacturers and their backers, has in such cases always sympathized with and ranged itself on the side of our Union.

No wonder, therefore, that our President Schlesinger has succeeded in gaining access to the federal authorities and convincing Dr. Garfield of the urgency of an exemption for the workers of our industry. The order was revoked after the exemption had been in force one Monday. But this by no means detracts from the importance of the exceptional privilege granted to the industry through the offices of our Union.

A MEMORABLE DAY OF MERCY

In recent years there have been exceptional days in the life of our International Union deserving to be set apart as red-letter days in our history. But February 22, 1918, will be recorded in the annals of our union as a memorable day of particular significance. It was a day on which our membership thought not of its own personal interest, but of the urgent need of others; a day on which they felt with their whole heart and soul for the war sufferers; in which they expressed their pity and sympathy not only in work or thought, but in the exertion of brain and muscle in a practical way. They worked that day and donated their entire earnings to the needy victims of the war.

At this writing we do not know as yet the result of their offerings. The heatless and lightless days affected this noble endeavor in no small degree, particularly so far as the manufacturers were concerned. In fact, through the heatless order the entire proposition had been in doubt, and it is possible that the sum total will not measure up to the original expectation. But after making all deductions the donation is bound to be a big one, probably the biggest contributed by any organization for this great purpose.

(Continued on second half of next page.)

Big Locals a Hindrance to Democracy

From the February Yiddish Edition of the Ladies' Garment Worker

By the Editor

The purpose of this series of articles is to analyze our present form of organization and certain phases of the inner life of our locals. It is plain that certain vexing evils from which we suffer are caused directly by the enormous size of some of our local unions. However great our efforts to guard and protect the members' interest, many details must elude our vigilance and suffer neglect.

It is not our purpose to lay the blame for these evils at anyone's door personally. The system has grown spontaneously. It was forced on us by circumstances beyond our control, after two great historic strikes and victories.

We had not expected such a tremendous upheaval, such a general response to our call for organization. When the strikes of the waistmakers in 1909-1910 and of the cloakmakers in 1910 were settled, and tens of thousands of these workers returned to the shops, transformed by the settlements into union shops, our officers and leaders of that time were in the position of one, suddenly entrusted with a colossal business concern, who feels like being in the woods, not knowing how to begin shaping its course. The first absorb-

ing thought was to hold the mass of workers together in the organization. Every other consideration was thrown into the shade.

Centralization and Rule of the Few

Even the most sagacious, intelligent and experienced men and women are limited in their power of foresight. Our leading spirits of that time may have had the presentiment that big locals would make for centralization, placing the control of the union in the hands of a very few. But there were so many problems pressing for solution that the leaders had no time to think how big locals were likely to work out in practice. All minds were then concentrated on consolidating the union, assure its existence and render it proof against the attacks of the employers and other enemies.

It was hoped that the centralization inherent in big locals might act as a protection. There was, at all events, no other solution of the difficulty. It could not then occur to anyone that locals of thousands of members would retard the spiritual development of the masses. No one could foresee that this form of organization would render it impossible to bear in mind the spiritual

Washington's Birthday is a widely recognized holiday in all parts of the United States, and this year the streets of New York evinced the customary holiday aspect. But between six and seven P. M. large masses of people were seen streaming from the factory districts in the direction of the Eastside. They were the sympathetic ladies' garment workers. The writer of these lines observed many of them wending their way homewards in the glittering snow. Young men and girls, week workers, who were entitled to pay though not working the day; who could have spent the day in some pleasant company, walked from work in their usual unassuming manner. Their inward souls, throbbing with pity and sympathy, shone out of their expressive eyes. They all seemed pleased in the consciousness that they had performed a great duty and noble deed on that day.

And very truly they have by this service to suffering and agonized humanity won a rare repute. Truly they are workers of whom our country might feel proud. By their devoted action they placed our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on a high pedestal of fame and prestige.

needs of every member, and that after seven years the mass of the membership would remain stationary—indifferent to the union; union men and women by compulsion.

Mere Members or Human Beings?

There is a saying, "You cannot see the wood for the trees." This is very true of our locals. Their membership is so large that the idea of the human beings, which the membership represents, is lost. The members are dealt with as a mass and not as individual persons, without whose action and co-operation there can be no organization and no democracy. The result is that instead of such locals being organizations of workers whose hearts and souls are permeated with the spirit and ideals of the union—unity, solidarity, brotherhood—most of our people have formed the notion that the business agent is the union, that the manager is the union, that the executive board is the union, that the joint board is the union, that the union office is the union; in short, that the union is not themselves, but something apart. For a labor union such a state of affairs is unnatural.

Thus it is easy to understand why we are only just opening our eyes to the lack of an essential, which is more important than the machinery of the office—an essential that would save the offices of the locals nine-tenths of the effort and energy and money. We have the outward form of organization, but we lack the spirit, that spirit now reflected in a **comparatively few active members**, but which should be reflected in **all the members**.

Forbidding, Chilly Atmosphere

All students of the psychology and character of our people have observed that we have a large measure of enthusiasm which animates us on certain occasions. In strenuous agitations before and during strikes, and whenever we feel that we have been or are being dealt with unjustly we are capable of manifesting greater enthusiasm than the workers of other races and nationalities. This enthusiasm should have permeated our members with the spirit

of unwavering unity and a desire to be active in the interest of the organization. But no such effect has been produced.

The ideal of labor—emancipation from wage slavery—that is visibly coming to fruition even in our time, has not achieved its present stage of progress without immense sacrifice. The labor movement, like the ancient religions, has had its heroes and martyrs. It is, therefore, capable of inspiring courage and prompting to noble effort.

Trade unionism will be in a fair way of achieving its aim when every member of a local union will feel the urge to enlist in its service, whether as a shop chairman, a business agent, a local officer, a committee man, an organizer, etc. The number of such people in our union is limited because our big locals present no opportunity for getting hold of every member individually, to bring out his or her talent, and help them to attain self-expression.

Every one of our big locals may be likened to a house, beautiful and attractive without but formal and chilling within. It has costly furniture and decorations, but this is offset by an official, forbidding atmosphere. In vain the host tries to infuse life and enthusiasm into his guests; his dry, formal words fall on irresponsive, deaf ears. After this experience how can the guests be expected to act otherwise than shun this cold, formal house with all its unreal officiality.

A Danger Not to Be Overlooked

Only now, after some eight years of active life, we have discovered that our people lack the knowledge of trade union principles, and we want to rectify the shortcoming by unity centers and educational institutions. We should not, however, delude ourselves into believing that lectures and courses, though good and useful, will beget the new spirit and interest which we want to see manifested, if we shall retain our present form of organization and let the big locals remain as they are. There lurks a danger, which may not be seen by all. Those, however, who have been long familiar with the labor

movement know it from sad experience. It is that the more intelligent members who taste from the tree of general knowledge and education discard the trade and the union and seek better opportunities in life. But this is not our aim. Our aim is to increase the number of thoroughgoing union men and competent and reliable union leaders who, fired with the zeal for our ideals, should serve the cause of our movement. It is not our aim to educate men and women who should abandon our cause and go into the service of private interests.

Leaders Must Rise from the Ranks

Let us, by all means, educate and enlighten our members. At the same time we must bring them up as true, devoted union men and women. But the latter is a process which we cannot carry out in our present big locals. To attempt this with any measure of success we must reorganize our union into smaller locals where every member can be easily reached and where he or she can find an opportunity for self-expression. For self-expression, however imperfect, develops the mind. In our present locals the mass of the members individually can find no expression and therefore the great majority is indifferent.

In no country and in no industry have trade organizations assumed such an unnatural form of organization as the locals of our International Union. Take the trade unions of Great Britain (and Great Britain is generally recognized as the cradle of trade unionism and labor organization). In certain large industries in England there are powerful labor unions and federations which have reached the highest degree of development. They are steadfast in principles. Their stability and permanence was assured half a century ago in spite of legal and social disabilities. For the last twenty-five years or so they have been organized politically as well as economically, and they are represented in the British Parliament through the powerful and influential Labor Party. They possess enormous funds and they are rich in qualities that riches cannot buy—unity, harmony, so-

lidarity and capable leadership. For several decades they have had the most experienced leaders that could be desired; yet these leaders did not come from other classes in society. They did not attend universities, where, as Ingersol says, "pebbles are polished and diamonds are dimmed." They do not hail from the professions, being neither doctors nor lawyers. They have risen from the ranks. They worked in the factories and mines.

Such men as the late James Keir Hardie, John Burns, Arthur Henderson and many others rise before the mental vision. The British labor leaders have furnished cabinet ministers for the British Government. A persistent opinion has been current within the last few months that in the coming reconstruction after the war or even sooner, the mantle of the British premiership will fall upon Arthur Henderson; and Arthur Henderson received his training and experience in the ranks of the horny-handed toilers.

Many of the British trade unions at various times have been in the throes of great industrial upheavals. But defeat and failure have not broken their spirit of unity in spite of the system of strike-breaking recognized and well organized there under the respectable name of "Free Labor Association." The workers of the principal national industries, except perhaps the tailors, are organized in extensive national unions and industrially federated. But those big national unions are composed of small groups. Seven members constitute the smallest organized group or local, and there is no necessity for a provision in the constitution prohibiting locals or branches of more than several hundred members.

Democracy Must Assure Individual Expression

The idea and practice of democracy are not things to juggle with in the British trade unions; they are real, living facts. Democracy there means that every individual member is assured of his full rights of expressing his opinions and personal wishes, and it is instinctively understood that when a local consists of more than several

hundred members individual rights of expression cannot be assured. Only among the Jewish tailors and industries employing immigrants is there a tendency to be grouped in centralized independent unions, and for that reason these union hardly ever acquire stability. The least crisis upsets their equilibrium. As the organized Jewish workers are drawn principally from Eastern Europe, their conception of democracy is not so pronounced as that of the natives.

Develop Ordinarily Intelligent Element

One cannot expect the speedy realization of democratic perfection in our locals; but small locals would be a good beginning. Small locals would call forth personal interest, while many intelligent members hold aloof from our present big locals. In our huge organizations big men and big sensations are called for, and these members

do not consider themselves big enough. But in smaller locals there is room for the ordinarily intelligent element to develop and become genuine leaders, while now this element is consumed with regret at having no chance of self-expression.

Some people object that the splitting up of a local of 10,000 members into twenty or so locals would cause serious difficulties. "Where would these locals meet? Will it not be an expensive proposition? Will it not be almost impossible to watch over so many small organizations?"

To this we answer: All these are petty details that can be met. First of all it is necessary that our people shall be convinced of the urgent necessity of this reform and be fired with enthusiasm for the idea. The rest will take its natural course. But we shall return to the subject in the next issue.

The Success of Our Organizing Campaigns

By AB. BAROFF

I have no doubt that at the next convention of our International Union which will be held in Boston beginning May 20, 1918, the usual large number of resolutions will be submitted, calling for the organization of all the ladies' garment workers in every part of the country.

From past conventions we know that no resolution of this kind is ever disapproved by the convention. On the contrary, all such motions are carried unanimously.

The delegates to our conventions know that it is the function of the International Union to organize the workers. They know the importance of this task and therefore adopt these resolutions with enthusiasm.

Our delegates, however, do not clearly perceive the difficulties we encounter in the effort of carrying out our organizing campaigns. They do not know the amount of money required to assure the success of the work. They are not familiar with the element confronting us. They cannot know all this. They only know one

thing—that it is our duty to organize the workers. Therefore any resolution pertaining to organization is carried with enthusiasm, and the General Executive Board, including the President and Secretary, receive a mandate from the convention to give effect to all the adopted resolutions.

What happens next?

The newly elected officers, knowing the great importance of their mission and the responsibility these resolutions impose on them, are determined to comply implicitly with the wishes of the convention and immediately set to work, some times even without due preparation, for the great and difficult task.

Our industries have two short seasons, which begin at the same time throughout the country, and organizing work can be done with a certain degree of success only during the season. The workers are then in the shops working long hours, at top speed, and receiving miserable pay for their arduous toil. Then, when organizers come and enlighten them as

to the urgency of uniting together, their ears are open to the message that unity means their salvation.

During the slack season the workers feel discouraged and depressed, laden with care as to where to borrow money to maintain their wives and children and tide them over the hard weeks or months. At such times they have not the minds to listen to the call of the union representative. The luckier workers, who chance to remain at work in the slack season, are afraid to risk their small earnings, and dodge the organizer. They do not want to incur the displeasure of the employer, who, not being subject to any control, might discharge them. This would mean for them weeks and perhaps months of starvation. Therefore it is plainly impossible to start organizing campaigns in the slack season.

As already said, the seasons in our industries begin in all the cities at the same time; and as they are mostly short seasons they afford little time for conducting successful organizing campaigns. But in view of the great mandate entrusted to the elected officers by the convention, the officers, in their desire to carry it into effect, often elaborate organizing plans of far-reaching scope beyond our financial strength and organizing ability. Under such circumstances not all the campaigns can be crowned with success.

In illustration of the foregoing remarks I shall cite, for the benefit of the delegates to the next convention who will have before them the question of organizing campaigns, a fact which will prove the correctness of my statement.

At our last convention in Philadelphia hundreds of resolutions were adopted, most of which had reference to the question of organization.

When the newly elected officers assembled at the first meeting after the convention and took up the long list of resolutions calling for organizing campaigns, it became clear that if the International officers were to attempt embarking on such a comprehensive mission as assigned them by the delegates they would have to extend their organizing activities to all branches of

trade in various industrial centers.

President Schlesinger therefore submitted a plan of undertaking eleven organizing campaigns in different cities. I have great respect for our general president, and while I have not underestimated his inexhaustible energies and devotion to the work, it was clear to me that to carry out this excellent plan we stood in need of larger financial means and an additional staff of organizers. I thought that to carry out the task successfully required almost superhuman powers. Everywhere the attention of the general officers was in demand and everywhere funds were needed. As soon as we plunged into these campaigns we found that we had undertaken much more than we could accomplish with the men and means at our disposal. The pressure of the demand for organization brought to bear on us at the convention was so great that in seeking help from many of our locals we, in our enthusiasm, over-estimated our strength, and for that reason the results were not such as we had desired.

It is clearly our task to bring the unorganized into line for two reasons.

First, because it is the function of our International Union to spread the idea of unity by which the workers may protect their earnings and interests.

Second, to maintain the improvements won in the organized cities and trades it behooves us to swing into line the unorganized workers, so as to prevent their unchecked competition from being a menace to the higher standards of the organized workers. Therefore the delegates are justified in pressing for energetic organizing campaigns. But they must bear in mind first that the elected officers entrusted with this work will do their duty. Adopting resolutions is not the main thing. If they wish the officers to fulfill their function of tackling the organizing problem with success something more than voting for resolutions is required. This brings us to the most important question of raising the per capita tax, which we shall discuss in the next article.

The American Federation of Labor and The Jewish Trade Unions

An Earnest, Impartial and Honest Contribution to an Intricate Question

By A. ROSEBURY

Some people in discussing an intricate problem of conflicting feelings and interests, themselves darken counsel and then complain that they cannot see.

One might say the same concerning the six-pointed controversy between the Central Federated Union of New York and the United Hebrew Trades; the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the false statements current in some circles that the American Federation of Labor is antagonistic to the trade unions of Jewish workers. They who are gifted with a special inclination to see creeping black shadows everywhere, imagine this question as a sort of bullfight, and are alarmed at the dark visions conjured up by their own minds.

Now, there happens along an impartial labor man of old standing, like myself, with no personal axe to grind; one who is not directly connected with the Federation of Labor, the Hebrew Trades or any of the aforesaid contending parties, yet one who is regarding the entire controversy coolly and dispassionately from the standpoint of trade union principle and organization—and what I see is a thick fog created by those of the United Hebrew Trades themselves; and in a fog the imagination is bound to be very active and mistake shadow for reality.

The fact is that our friends of the Hebrew Trades until recently have not had a clear conception of the resolution adopted at the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, they do not seem to understand the question in its true bearing on trade union organization. Was it because of fear for the existence of the Hebrew Trades, or because our friends of the Amalgamated have been adding fuel to the fire, while there arose in the interval the question of the Capmakers and Millinery workers? The fact is—they had confused and hazy notions on the subject, and they should be grateful to President Schlesinger of our International Union, who cleared the foggy atmosphere

and saved the United Hebrew Trades from a perilous situation of tragi-comedy. Had the United Hebrew Trades agreed to the terms of the Central Federated Union, involving the admission to its counsels of delegates from the United Garment Workers, they would have placed their existence in jeopardy.

Unfortunately the Yiddish press has not presented the facts of the case clearly from the true viewpoint of organization and trade union discipline. Both sides have distorted the issue. Those of the Central Federated Union have brought into the controversy such outside and irrelevant matters as the People's Council and Workmen's Council and tried at the Buffalo convention to raise a bugbear of some imaginary persons intending to form a Federation of Labor in opposition to the existing body. Meddlesome and misinformed writers in the Yiddish press, on the other hand, have much exaggerated the so-called Jewish question and by insinuation and suggestion indirectly alarmed a certain class of readers that the Central Federated Union and the American labor movement were hostile to the Jewish workers as such. In the meantime our friends of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their sympathizers have kept pouring oil on the flames and, letting loose their imagination, indulged in some such false conclusion as this: "Well, it doesn't matter, anyhow. When the worst comes to the worst, the Jewish Labor movement might stand on its own feet; it has no need of the solidarity and moral support of the American Federation of Labor."

But this is sheer nonsense. Only irresponsible writers and platform orators, whose pen or tongue runs away with their common sense, are capable of such suppositions. The "Jewish Labor Movement" is not a race movement, nor yet a Jewish national movement. It might be that, if the fates permit, in the Holy Land, but it cannot be and must not be *that* in America. In America, it is no more than a Jewish

language movement. Here Jewish workers must all unite and fraternize and be in hearty solidarity with the American organized workers. First, because their organized ranks are not formed exclusively of Jewish workers, but partly also of Italian, American, Russian, Polish, French, German and other workers. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union admits to membership even negroes; and in many shops workers of all these various nationalities often work side by side. If the Jewish Workers should lose their senses and turn the question into a race question, and imagine that they could afford to be at loggerheads with the American workers, then, they might expect, in some localities, to incur hatred and persecution similar to that which many of them endured in their countries of origin.

In the spring of 1917 terrible riots—fire and death against the negroes—broke out in East St. Louis. What was the main cause of that savage and inhuman outbreak? It was the blending of the race question with the labor question, and it proved that under certain circumstances human beings turn into wild beasts. To trifle with feelings is to play with fire.

Now, what is there in the question under discussion (and in every human question) other than a question of feeling? It is ridiculous to think that the fight of the Central Federated Union against the United Hebrew Trades is a race question, or a fight against Jewish workers. The fight is against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It began soon after the Amalgamated had been organized and there will be no peace until the dispute between the United Garment Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers is satisfactorily settled. How can it be a fight directed against the Jewish workers, in view of the fact that there are Jewish workers in the ranks of the United Garment Workers? Then there are numerous Jewish members of the American Federation of Labor in various cities all over the country.

Let us therefore concentrate attention on the gist of the question and examine the resolution adopted at the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor and the recent action of the United Hebrew Trades from this angle. Let us first of all understand the facts of the case and

not be carried away by our feelings against our reason.

Resolution No. 120 adopted at the Buffalo convention reads as follows: (The italics are mine.)

Whereas, a serious condition exists in the clothing industry in Greater New York caused by what is known as the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who seceded from the United Garment Workers of America with the intent of destroying that recognized organization*; and

Whereas, The United Hebrew Trades, a body consisting of various local unions of different trades, and which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, renders all possible support to the seceders and is, therefore, antagonistic.

(In the last "whereas" Delegate Brindell, its mover, brought in a bogeyman in the shape of the People's Council and Workmen's Council and tried to alarm the delegates into believing that the purpose of the above-said organizations was to supplant the American Federation of Labor—an allegation which was false and misleading.—A. R.)

Therefore, be it,

Resolved, That the thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct all international unions whose local unions are represented in the United Hebrew Trades, to order all such local unions to withdraw from that body, and in case such local unions refuse to withdraw, to *reorganize them under the banner of the American labor movement*. (The last underscored phrase is rather hazy, for are they not already enrolled in the American labor movement?—Ed.)

Note that in this resolution there is not even a hint about the United Hebrew Trades being required to admit into its counsels delegates from the United Garment Workers. True, Mr. Brindell of the C. F. U. wished to add some such clause as this to the resolution. Delegate Benj. Schlesinger, however, strenuously opposed it and the committee dropped it. Furthermore, Brindell subsequently wished to withdraw the entire resolution, because the delegates favoring the Hebrew Trades had made it quite clear that the entire basis on which it rested was unfounded. The convention practically accepted the statement that the United Hebrew Trades was *not antagonistic*, but on the contrary, *loyal to the American Federation of Labor*. According to the convention report (page 381) the convention accepted the view "that it might bring a great hardship and injury

if the United Hebrew Trades were dissolved by the process employed by the resolution No. 120."

Thus, the basic part of the resolution being unfounded, its entire superstructure—the decision "to direct all international unions," etc.—falls to the ground. If the purpose of the resolution was, as James Holland of the New York State Federation of Labor expressed it, that "something should be done by the convention to bring peace and harmony in New York City," then, instead of the decision bringing peace and harmony, it is rather calculated to bring bitter war. No, brothers of the American Federation of Labor; this is not the way to bring peace and harmony. There is a much better way, namely to bring together the contending parties; and the only man who is fit and able to accomplish this feat is President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor.

Looking at the matter, as we are doing here, with cold reason, without passion, prejudice or partiality, but from a purely trade union standpoint, one cannot conceive that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should commit such an error of judgment as to force the international unions, in their turn to force their local unions, to withdraw from the Hebrew Trades, after the charges against this body were admitted to be unfounded—a slur on its reputation.

Of course it is possible that the Executive Council of the Federation might take that mistaken stand; but the international unions are within their right not to comply with it. It seems to me that the Federation by its constitution cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the international unions or deprive them of their rightful local autonomy. The Federation can neither compel them to affiliate their membership with any central body nor compel them to keep out of a special language body which has definitely declared its loyalty to the Federation. All that the Executive Council can do is to try moral persuasion—call upon the international unions to act in a certain way, but the international unions have a right to disagree with the advice.

The Executive Council might submit a report to the next convention; but the

Council will not be logical, consistent or practical, to recommend the expulsion of the non-complying unions. The effect of this, if enforced, would be to fan the fires of the brotherly dispute rather than to subdue and extinguish them.

Possibly the next convention of the American Federation of Labor will decide to compel the international unions to act in the sense of that or a similar resolution. But before the convention will decide upon such a course the international unions concerned will have an opportunity to defend their position and convince the delegates that theirs is the correct attitude, while the possible attitude of the Federation is *not in accord with the spirit of trade unionism*. It is difficult to conceive that the coming convention will persistently refuse to listen to reason and act upon a *mistaken conception of discipline*. It is easy to imagine that the delegates of the United Garment Workers and of the Central Federated Union will urge such action; but it is inconceivable that a great convention of a mighty national movement will be so narrow-minded as to decide upon a solution of this question by such methods. It is impossible to believe that the Executive Council of the Federation will back such methods, and that President Gompers, who has a thorough and intimate knowledge of the entire situation, will depart from his life-long belief in complete local autonomy and swing the weight of his great influence in the scale of the intolerant party in this business.

If well-reasoned protests and logical contentions should fail after all and the elements bent on war to the knife should happen to carry the day, then, of course, the international unions will have to submit to the rule of the majority; they will have no other alternative. They must not allow themselves to be expelled from the American labor movement. But in that case, the pugnacious elements must not imagine that they will thereby succeed in suppressing the natural instinct of the Jewish organized workers to group themselves into some Yiddish-speaking central body for the purpose of helping to organize the unorganized Jewish workers. President Gompers knows that when you drive out such an instinct through the door, it will come back through the window.

Now what should be the constructive attitude of the international unions concerned at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor? Namely this: "We are decidedly opposed to dual unionism; but in this question between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers there has arisen an unusual situation. In politics and government an unsuccessful revolt is condemned and punished, but a successful revolt is called a revolution and is eventually recognized. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers practically accomplished a revolution. Its purpose had been not to destroy the United Garment Workers, as alleged in Brindell's resolution, but to organize the disorganized tailors whom the United Garment Workers for years neglected to organize, or employed clumsy methods of organization. The Amalgamated Union has organized them in their tens of thousands. This is noticeable wherever there is a flourishing tailoring industry.

"It is therefore the duty of the American labor movement to give recognition to these organized workers, to reach out to them a brotherly hand and take them into the fold of the great family of American trade unions. They have deserved this in view of their great achievement. They have, properly speaking, accomplished that which the Federation wishes the workers of every trade to bring about—they have organized and won union shops and union conditions of labor."

The next convention of the American Federation of Labor ought to decide that these two rival bodies—the United Garment Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers—should join forces. That would be *a peace with honor for the Federation and a great gain for the labor movement*. And the Amalgamated Clothing Workers must loyally submit to such a true trade union proposition, because this is the only way out of a tangled situation in which it finds itself outlawed and separated from the labor movement.

In this connection it should be conceded that the attitude of the Amalgamated union to the Federation was illogical and improper. It seemed as if the Amalgamated sought to carry on a fight against Samuel Gompers and the Federation of Labor. How ridiculous? Has the Amalgamated

expected Samuel Gompers to withdraw his support from the United Garment Workers—an affiliated body with the Federation—and give it to the Amalgamated, which is, after all, a dual union? Has the Amalgamated Union expected to win the public opinion of the American labor movement by discharging literary pop-guns at Samuel Gompers and the Federation of Labor? How much better it would have been to maintain a conciliatory attitude and defend its action by proper evidence?

But let bygones be bygones. In the next three months the Amalgamated can help to free itself from its condition of separate existence and help the international unions arrayed on its side to advance its cause at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor. The labor movement is too sacred a cause to permit such methods.

I have tried to discuss this controversy in an earnest, impartial and honest manner. Had the United Hebrew Trades adopted the proposition of the Central Federated Union and admitted the locals of the United Garment Workers, the struggle in the clothing trade would have been aggravated. The sword would have fallen on the stone. By its refusal to comply with a demand that was not part of the resolution of the Buffalo convention a way has now been opened for the ventilation of the whole question in a new light, and possible settlement.

Had not our President Schlesinger clarified the situation from this standpoint at the meeting of the United Hebrew Trades, that body, out of fear, might have committed an unpardonable error. It is sometimes necessary to save a person from himself. For "Nothing is so bad, but what thinking makes it so."

JUDGMENT

By John Hendrick Bangs

I never knew a man so good
But I could find flaws, if I would.
I never knew a man so bad
But that some virtue rare he had.
And hence it is I cannot find
A method certain in my mind
By which to judge my brother's ways
In terms of blame, in lines of praise:
And, therefore, feel no special call
To judge my fellow men at all.

American Labor Movement in Present Crisis

By A. R.

EMPLOYING CLASS ACCOUNTABLE FOR LABOR UNREST

The most important news item of the past month was the report of the Mediation Commission appointed some time ago by President Wilson to probe into the great labor unrest in the country, particularly into the causes of the extensive strikes in the industries of the West. The report rests the entire blame on the employers and profiteers.

The commission consists of William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, chairman; John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; E. P. Marsh, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and U. Z. Reed and J. L. Spangler representing the employers.

Important as this news item was to the average reader of the daily press, it is an old story to the organized workers. The omissions and commissions of the captains of industry and their inhuman treatment of their employees have been for years common knowledge to the advanced and well-informed section of the American public. The situation was far worse twenty-five or thirty years ago when the workers generally were poorly organized. Cruelties and inhuman deeds then perpetrated on laboring men and women were deemed natural occurrences in the public mind, and neither the public nor the government interfered or sympathized with the wronged and oppressed.

Even some three years ago when the well-known Commission on Industrial Relations conducted its far-reaching investigation into the causes of the great unrest, and the government published its scathing report in several volumes, the revelations and recommendations of the commission left the government and Congress unmoved. No attempt was made to ameliorate conditions. Those recommendations were, in a certain sense, similar to the proposals of the present report, but they fell on deaf ears. The industrial policy of the country was then still fashioned after the old individualism, which tacitly looked on

while profiteers were exploiting and grinding down the faces of the poor, the weak and helpless. The government then held fast to the principle of "let it alone" and did not interfere in the industrial wars between capital and labor. States sometimes did interfere—on the side of capital. The federal government could only investigate, and it was up to Congress to take legislative action. But since Congress hardly represented or sympathized with labor, attempts to remedy the situation by enacting laws were frustrated by the representatives and agents of the employers' interests. Where any attempt at legislation succeeded, the law enacted was in most cases killed by the Supreme Court on the pretext of its being contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

Within the last few years under the pressure of the war the aforesaid individualistic principle of "let it alone" has been dying by inches in Europe. In America, too, it is now in its death agony. Only the Supreme Court is still sustaining it by anti-labor decisions, looking backward and thinking the thoughts of a past age.

But the public and an ever-growing section of the press are fast readjusting their views in accord with the new circumstances and changed feelings.

It has dawned on the foremost rulers of democratic countries that without the goodwill of labor the nation's interests cannot be advanced. And reasonable industrial leaders and advanced thinkers have opened their eyes to another fact, namely that, while the workers ask as a reward for their labor just sufficient to tide them over the ever rising cost of living, the profiteers have set their energies on amassing treasures out of the rivers of blood and tears flowing, as never before, in both hemispheres.

For this reason the report of the President's Mediation Commission has called forth so much attention; not because it has brought to light something new in the industrial life of the country, but because the report has touched a responsive chord in the thoughts and sentiments of the times.

Briefly the recommendations of the commission are in substance as follows:

"The elimination to the utmost practical extent of all profiteering during the period of the war. . . .

"Some form of collective relationship between management and men is indispensable. The recognition of this principle by the government should form an accepted part of the labor policy of the nation. . . .

"Instead of waiting for adjustment after grievances come to the surface, there is needed the establishment of continuous administrative machinery for the disposition of industrial issues and the avoidance of an atmosphere of contention and the waste of disturbances.

"The eight-hour day is an established policy of the country; experience has proved the justification of the principle also in war time. Provision must of course be made for longer hours in case of emergencies. Labor will readily meet this requirement if its misuse is guarded against by appropriate overtime payments."

The commission also recommends the establishment of a "unified direction of the labor administration of the United States for the period of the war. . . . A single-headed administration with full power to determine and establish the necessary administrative structure." Then "when assured of sound labor conditions and effective means for the just redress of grievances, labor should surrender all practices which tend to restrict maximum efficiency. . . . Labor will eagerly devote its all, if only it be treated with confidence and understanding, subject neither to indulgence nor neglect, but dealt with as a part of the citizenship of the state."

All this to us is nothing new. Trade unions have been working for and urging such methods since many years. It is only new and startling to those whose eyes have been closed to ugly facts in industry.

"IF IT'S YOURS, THEN TAKE IT."

Chas. M. Schwab of the steel trust is ready for the social revolution. So it appears from his speech at the dinner of the Old Boys on January 24; and he is also ready, willy-nilly, to surrender his millions and become a manual laborer. He does not like the prospect, of course, but he is prepared for the inevitable.

Mr. Schwab is the president of the Bethlehem Steel Company of Pittsburgh, which employs some 20,000 workers. These laborers have never had an easy time, as the system of work is twelve hours a day for seven days a week and the wages of most of them do not exceed \$2.50 a day. He gives the impression of a man caught in the act, who hazards the excuse: "If it is yours, then take it."

Schwab's prediction that the time is coming when the workers will dominate the world surprised the Socialists and spread consternation among the more thoughtful capitalists and those who uphold the present system. One may imagine how they felt when they read words that heretofore had been uttered only by Socialists. They must have thought: "If the lions tremble what should the wolves do?"

No wonder, then, that their spokesmen in the press had a sort of reproach for Schwab for revealing his fear of the future and being the first millionaire to dig the grave of the capitalist system. He said among other things:

"We are facing another social situation, which we should be keenly alive to, a situation which is going to come at the close of the war, a 'social renaissance' of the whole world. Call it socialism, social revolution, Bolshevism, or what you will, it is a leveling process, and means that the workman without property, who labors with his hands, is going to be the man who will dominate the world. It is going to be a great hardship to the owners of property, but like all revolutionary movements it will probably work good. The sooner we realize this the better it will be for America. We must not fight this movement, but we must educate it. We must go among the people of the working classes and mingle with them, and learn their feelings and thoughts."

Speaking of the effects of the social revolution, Mr. Schwab said: "No doubt at first the changes will be carried to extremes and the pendulum of change will swing too far and great hardships will ensue, but in a very short time the pendulum will right itself and the world will go jogging on the same way as before, with the United States as leader as long as her virility, which makes her the greatest country in the world, lasts.

"The great effect of socialism would be the destruction of all aristocracies except the one of merit. The aristocracy of birth will cease to exist and the aristocracy of wealth will be no more. The coming aristocracy is to be composed of men who have done something for their country and the world at large, men who have worked for the good of mankind. Don't think I am anxious to give away my wealth and work with my hands. Indeed, there are few of us who like to do what is good for them. But we will find that we must eat the pill, sweet or bitter."

This talk moved Congressman Meyer London to comment: "When the princes of finance and the lords of industry prophesy the victory of the workers and of Socialism, I become suspicious. I look around to see whether there is anything lying loose that these fellows haven't grabbed yet."

HIGH COST OF LIVING EXCEEDS WAGE RAISES

Some manufacturers wax indignant when their employees ask for an increase of wages. Here is an extract from the first report of a committee of economists appointed by the government to study the purchasing power of money in war time, which shows that wage increases of 5, 10 and even 20 per cent are insignificant when compared with increased living costs.

On the question of living costs, the committee says:

"The living cost and the level of commodity prices in general are now, as we are all aware, extremely high. The average wholesale prices in the United States last month were 81 per cent above that of July, 1914; that is, the purchasing power of money over goods in the wholesale markets has been almost cut in half.

"The rise in retail prices of foods in the same period has been 57 per cent. This means a reduction to less than two-thirds in the purchasing power of money over foods in the retail markets. Abroad the rise of prices has been even greater.

"Between 1896 and 1914 wholesale prices in the United States were rising at the average rate of only one-fifth of 1 per cent per month; but even that small rate, long continued, was enough to make the high cost of living a very painful fact."

These figures show that the workers who

have received such increases are being impoverished. Even regular work and a 20 per cent raise do not bring them up to their former level.

MEAT BARONS CLIMB DOWN.

Washington—With a threatened frontal attack by their employees, and their flank endangered by Uncle Sam as a result of their attempts to block investigations by Congress, the nation's meat barons have adjusted differences with their employees. They agreed to cease union discrimination and refer wage demands to arbitration, the decision to be effective as of January 14. Secretary of Labor Wilson will name the arbitrator.

The settlement includes recognition of committees and seniority in promotions. The question of equal pay for women who are doing men's work is referred to the arbitrator.

Last fall, on returning from the West, the President's mediation commission effected an adjustment of this dispute, or thought it did until the packers kicked over the traces by insisting that arbitration should be of the long-distance variety, through correspondence, with no cross-examinations. The workers refused to accept this letter-writing plan, and asked President Wilson to take over the plants during the war. The unionists pledged the President a full-handed equipment for every packing plant in the country. The President promised to consider this request and referred the wage demands to his mediation commission, which cited the packers to come to this city and present their side.

During the last several months a wave of organization has swept through the packing industry and the meat barons have been forced to set aside old antagonisms. In Chicago, where 40,000 workers are employed, two-thirds of them are members of trade unions.

FARMERS AND UNIONS UNITE.

San Francisco—Organized workers, farmers and co-operators have formed the California union of producers and consumers.

The new organization, expected by its founders to become an economic and political force, consists of the California State Federation of Labor, the Farmers' Educa-

tional and Co-operative Union and the Pacific Co-operative League. Joint action by the three parties is necessary on any question and each organization will remain in full life for its separate purpose, and the united support of the three will be given to the activities of each, in so far as mutual interest and united opinion warrant.

The purpose of the new movement, as stated in the official announcement, is:

"To bring joint action to bear on pressing legislative changes; to further public ownership of all public utilities, including transportation and communication; to free the land and society from privilege and monopoly, and to provide a practical plan of co-operation for the equitable distribution of food and other necessities of life."

MUST RAISE \$800,000.

Indianapolis—Members of the United Mine Workers must raise \$800,000 for bonds to appeal a \$600,000 verdict against them, in an Arkansas federal court. The Coronado Coal company of that state was awarded \$200,000 damages for alleged violation of the anti-trust law. Under this act the company is entitled to three times the amount of the award.

The miners are confronted with two grave legal entanglements—the Coronado and the Hitchman cases.

The first case is based on a violation of the anti-trust law and the Hitchman case rests on the theory that where an employer secures an agreement from his employees that they will not join a union while employed by him, union officials can be enjoined if they attempt to interest the employees in trade unionism. In connection with the Hitchman case the United States supreme court has cited officers of the United Mine Workers to appear before it on March 4 to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt.

INJUNCTION AGAINST AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

"The Advance," official organ of this union, in its issue of February 8, reports:

"Notice of a temporary injunction was served on General President Sidney Hillman and Secretary Joseph Schlossberg last week in an action begun by Larry Levy, pants manufacturer, of 154 Bleecker street, in an effort to break a strike that has been

conducted against this firm for six weeks. Arguments were made before Supreme Court Justice Bijur Thursday by attorneys for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the dissolution of the temporary injunction.

"Levy charges in his application for the injunction that his business is being injured by the strike, and that picketing is keeping workers from his shops in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

"The strike was caused by the refusal of the firm to grant equal distribution of work and because of discrimination against members of the New York Clothing Cutters' Union."

GERMAN WOMEN UNITE IN THE FIGHT FOR BALLOT

The question of Woman Suffrage is beginning to agitate Germany, despite the government's forcible insistence that this and kindred questions must not be made the subject of agitation until after the war.

Three formidable national organizations are now openly campaigning in Germany in behalf of Woman's Suffrage—the Woman's Department of the Social Democratic Party, the German Imperial Union for Woman's Suffrage and the German Women's Suffrage Society. These organizations have just issued a united manifesto in which they say:

"Up to the present Germany stands in the lowest rank of nations as regards women's rights. In most civilized lands women have already been given a large share in public affairs. German women have been granted nothing except within the most significant limits.

"In New Zealand and most American States, and even before the war in Finland and Norway, they had been given political rights: today England, Sweden, Russia and many other countries give them a full or limited franchise. The war has brought a full victory to the women of England, Canada, Russia and Denmark, and large concessions are within sight in France, Holland and Hungary.

"Among us Germans, not only the national but even the communal franchise is denied, or even a share in the industrial and commercial courts. In the demand for the democratization of German public life our legislators do not seem to even admit the existence of women."

General Executive Board in Session

The quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board was held at Hotel Waldorf, Toledo, Ohio, beginning Friday, February 8, and continuing until Wednesday, February 13, 1918. All the vice presidents of the International were present, as well as Secretary Ab. Baroff and President Schlesinger, who presided.

Of late these quarterly meetings have assumed a particular importance. No routine official matters engage the attention of the Board but fundamental questions relating to the life and growth of our local unions. Much time is devoted to an earnest discussion of reports concerning organization work and plans for the future.

A very interesting report was heard regarding the agitation for introducing week work in our industries. It was encouraging to learn that the workers in large numbers are being converted to the idea of week work. Other reports related to various achievements of our International Union in the last three months, which were a source of satisfaction and encouragement to the assembled vice presidents.

Almost in all industries where we have agreements with the employers the International Union succeeded by negotiation in securing increases of wages for our members. Even in industries where the agreements do not expire until 1919 the manufacturers were prevailed upon to grant an increase of wages.

The nation-wide influence and prestige of our International Union has been shown recently in the fact that Dr. Garfield, the Federal Fuel Administrator, granted special exemption for the ladies' garment factories, permitting the use of heat and light on the heatless and lightless Mondays, so as to keep the members of our union in employment. Dr. Garfield granted the exemption upon request of President Schlesinger, who was accompanied by President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, after having been informed of the condition of our members and urgency for the exemption. The fact that the heatless order has now been revoked, makes no difference in the fact of our industry having been thus privileged.

A committee from Local No. 17, Reefer-makers of New York, appeared to explain

and show cause why its charter should not be revoked for deliberately failing to comply with the decision of the General Executive Board, in session at Montreal, in October, 1917. That decision read, in part:

1. All grievances of workers arising in shops controlled by Local No. 17 shall hereafter be taken up for adjustment directly by the Joint Board instead of the office of Local No. 17.

2. The Joint Board shall attend to all grievances of workers of such shops from one office and shall take care that such office be managed and conducted by a manager and business agents fully familiar with the various grades of work made in Local No. 17 shops as well as with the system of work prevailing in such shops.

According to paragraph 4 of that decision "all controversies with respect to the meaning or practical application of the above decision shall be submitted to and passed upon by the General President of the International subject only to an appeal to the convention." President Schlesinger interpreted the decision in the sense that Local No. 17 must abandon its separate office for complaints and move into the Joint Board.

The Local No. 17 committee, consisting of Brothers J. Heller, S. Goldin, D. Nisnevitz, A. Jacobinsky and Stankevitch, asked the General Executive Board to deal leniently with their local. They sought to impress the Board that the decision was unjust to the local, which had committed no offence and therefore had not expected to be thus penalized. They explained that at a well-attended meeting their members had protested against the decision of the General Executive Board.

President Schlesinger pointed out to the committee that the Executive Board of Local No. 17 had not acted loyally toward the International. Being a part of the organization they must respect the decision of its high officers, particularly when, as in this case, the decision was so mild.

After due discussion, and bearing in mind that the Executive Board of Local No. 17, instead of complying with the decision, had called a members' meeting by a press advertisement of an infamatory wording, thus rendering it impossible for the local Executive Board to get the members' approval of the decision of the International, the

General Executive Board decided to give Local No. 17 an extension of time until March 1, 1918, to carry the decision into effect or stand expelled from the International.

Brother A. Ellner, manager of the Private Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 90, called the attention of the Board to the local situation. He stated that if this union is to increase its influence in the industry, and gain improvements for the workers it was necessary to prepare for a general strike. The union, he stated, has approximately 700 members, but the industry employs about 8,000 workers of various nationalities. Many French and American girls are working in the shops and stores, and it would be impossible to organize them systematically without a general strike.

The General Executive Board empowered the General Office to investigate the conditions of the trade, and if practical and feasible, a campaign for a general strike shall be sanctioned.

* * *

Judge Jacob Panken appeared on behalf of the Naturalization Bureau and explained that the bureau was commencing a movement for assisting our eligible workers to become citizens of the United States. He said that never was the urgency for this movement greater than at present; first because the women of New York have been enfranchised, and upon married men securing full citizenship rights it will mean two votes for the labor movement. Secondly it should be remembered that in view of the great progress of the recent Socialist party campaign, the other parties will employ every possible means to obstruct our next campaign. Therefore we ought to prepare for eventualities by increasing the number of our voters. Funds were needed to carry on the work, and Judge Panken asked the General Executive Board to contribute a sum of money for this purpose. Agreed to grant \$200.

* * *

As the convention report has to be prepared, it was decided that President Schlesinger shall visit all the locals of the International for the purpose of ascertaining their present condition and aspirations, to enable the General Executive Board to present a comprehensive report to the convention.

It was reported that the Waistmakers' Union of Philadelphia had bought a Unity house with funds specially collected from shares issued to the members and sympathizers. A large number of its members have invested in this undertaking. The General Executive Board recognizing the importance of this enterprise and desiring to commend this noble example to other locals, decided to purchase 100 shares in the Unity House of Local No. 15.

Vice President J. Halperin; H. Wander; Fannia M. Cohn and Secretary Ab. Baroff were appointed as Convention Arrangements Committee.

Vice President Elmer Rosenberg; Salvatore Ninfo and S. Seidman were appointed a committee to draw up a plan of a weekly paper for our International Union and submit a report to the next meeting of the Board.

AB. BAROFF,
Gen. Secy.-Treasurer.

TABULATION OF VOTE CAST BY LOCALS FOR CONVENTIONS CITY 1918:

Local	Boston	Baltimore	Chicago
1.....	248	146	40
2.....	20	16	5
3.....	3	50	..
4.....	..	250	..
6.....	240	7	2
7.....	135	..	..
9.....	100	400	50
10.....	..	364	..
11.....	5	51	4
12.....	70	..	..
13.....	..	..	83
14.....	..	2	19
15.....	3	..	463
17.....	4	145	14
19.....	30	..	..
20.....	90	8	7
21.....	150	4	10
23.....	6	74	2
24.....	114	..	..
25.....	80	197	39
30.....	..	..	49
32.....	..	..	45
33.....	14	..	1
35.....	57	203	2
41.....	405	12	3
44.....	..	..	146
48.....	35	194	3

49.....	726	1
50.....	232	218
53.....	54	..
54.....	..	..
56.....	271	1
58.....	8	38
61.....	..	..
62.....	..	221
63.....	..	..
64.....	40	1
66.....	117	3
67.....	3	..
68.....	43	5
69.....	18	1
71.....	..	..
72.....	..	18
73.....	22	1
78.....	..	..
80.....	..	35
82.....	232	..
84.....	..	4
92.....	2	..
98.....	..	..
100.....	..	..
101.....	..	28
112.....	13	1
<hr/>		<hr/>
	3590	2699
Total		8044

dent Schlesinger's consent, he accepted office on November 15th.

During the month of November, right after Brother Labensohn was engaged as the Montreal organizer, a serious trouble arose in Montreal. It happened that some of the active union members among the finishers of the shop of M. Rother, one of the biggest in the town, were discriminated against and discharged, and the local Joint Board decided to call a strike in that shop. The operators of the shop, however, lined up with the employer and issued a circular in defiance of the order of the Joint Board. Foreseeing the demoralizing effect of this act of insubordination upon the Montreal organization, we sent Vice-President Halpern to Montreal early in December, for the purpose of adjusting the matter and bring the operators of that shop to their senses. Brother Halpern had spent a few days there and upon his return to New York reported that he had succeeded in convincing the operators of their wrong action; that they felt repentant and appointed a committee to see the employer and ask him to reinstate the finishers; that the employer refused to grant their demand and accused the operators of having acted in bad faith with him, as it was he who had given them the money to print circulars against the Joint Board; that he offered them individual agreements, by which they would bind themselves not to go down on strike while the agreement lasted, and they rejected these proposals. After Brother Halpern had left, we were informed that a strike was called in that shop by the operators.

* * *

The situation in the New York Cloak Operators' Union, Local No. 1, was not quite clear when we came from Montreal. The registration of the operators in the reorganized local was very slow, and there were a number of so-called "peace-seekers" who were hampering the work of the local elements of the union. During the last three months, however, the entire situation has cleared up excellently. Up to date about 6,000 cloakmakers have registered in the International local, which has moved into new headquarters. Recently local elections took place, and a new executive board and other officers were elected. A large vote was recorded despite the fact that the voting took place during the five

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

To the Officers and Members of the General Executive Board in Session in Toledo, Ohio, Feb. 9, 1918

We, the undersigned herewith certify that we have audited the expenses of the General officers for the months of October, November and December, and that we have found them duly vouched for and in accordance with law.

M. AMDUR, Chairman.

H. WANDER.

FANNIA M. COHN,

Secretary.

Finance committee of the I. L. G. W. U.

SECRETARY AB. BAROFF'S REPORT TO THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Immediately after our return from the last meeting of the Board at Montreal, we accepted the recommendation of the Montreal Joint Board to engage Brother Labensohn as its manager, and with Presi-

heatless days of last month. Vice Presidents Amdur, Lefkovits and myself acted in the committee which had examined the candidates for office and we had also assigned watchers at the ballot boxes. The newly elected officers of Local No. 1 were installed by President Schlesinger, and quite recently the event of the reorganization of the local was celebrated by Local No. 1, in conjunction with the International, at a banquet which was arranged on February 2nd at Beethoven Hall, and at which all the active workers of the New York unions and representatives of the International Union were present.

* * *

During January our New York locals had their regular annual elections for officers for the year 1918, and I installed practically all of them. On all of these occasions I found with a sense of deep gratification that our locals are intensely loyal and true to our International Union. The meeting of the Joint Board of New York, where the installation of delegates for the next year took place in January, was another source of satisfaction to me. The poisonous atmosphere which has been in the air there for years, created and spread by the treacherous and disloyal element, has vanished, and all the delegates showed determination to uphold harmony and unity in our ranks. We have, indeed, enough cause to congratulate ourselves upon the progress we have made during the last six months.

I also attended mass meetings of Locals No. 9 and No. 23, at which the conditions of the trade were discussed and remedies for the existing evils were sought. The idea of week work in the entire industry is getting strong support and increasing approval from our workers.

* * *

We have made arrangements at Baltimore to engage a man and a woman organizer in addition to Miss Anna Neary who has been working for the ladies' garment workers of Baltimore for a considerable time, as organizer for the American Federation of Labor. The arrangements were completed by President Schlesinger and took effect on January 3, 1918. Reports so far indicate that the new staff of organizers in Baltimore has undertaken a wide campaign to unionize the workers.

At the request of the Joint Board of Boston the General Office has agreed to contribute to the expenses of Brother Hyman Hurwitz, who was recently elected as their manager. He is an able young man, and his services can be utilized for organizing work in Worcester and other points around Boston. This arrangement has been in effect since December 27th, 1917.

* * *

As you already know, Vice-President Seidman was induced to come to New York to take up the position as Chief Clerk in the Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 25, and he may briefly report on the conditions in which he found the local.

I attended conferences between the Waistmakers' Union and the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association at which various demands were discussed. The employers had at first flatly refused to grant the demands, and the controversy was to go to the Board of Arbitration. However, President Schlesinger, together with Brothers Seidman and Lieberman, succeeded, after a number of conferences with the employers, in gaining increases of wages for the workers. Later some of the members of the Executive Board of Local No. 25 and some shop chairmen protested against the action of the conference committee for not acting in this matter in strict accord with democracy. But after two meetings with the Executive Board and also with the shop chairmen, at which President Schlesinger and I have been present, we succeeded in convincing them of the importance of these gains and of the increases.

* * *

I attended a meeting of Local No. 90, the Private Dressmakers, who have succeeded in building up a compact little local, but they are not satisfied because of the fact that their trade is a large one and is not yet thoroughly organized. They are anxious that the International give them a helping hand in organizing the workers all over the city.

* * *

The Children's Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 50, has been progressing pretty well, but lately a trouble of a personal nature has occurred, based, to my mind, on a feeling of petty jealousy. One of the office clerks, a member of the union, was guilty of

discourtesy to the manager of the local and he brought charges against her before the Executive Board of the local. The Executive Board decided that the young lady in question was to apologize for the insult, which she refused to do and sent in her resignation. The case would have ended right there but for one of the paid officers who wanted to get even with the manager. He organized some of the business agents of the local against the manager and started a turmoil, demanding that the Executive Board of Local No. 50 reconsider its decision.

A special meeting of the Executive Board and of the officers was called, at which President Schlesinger and myself were present. We went through the entire case, and President Schlesinger upheld the decision of the local Executive Board. Again it was thought that this would settle the controversy, but the forces that were working against the manager of Local No. 50 would not rest. An agitation was started among the chairladies of the local against the Executive Board. At a meeting of the Executive Board, at which I was present, a committee of the chairladies appeared with an ultimatum that if this girl were not reinstated they would refuse to act as chairladies in the shops. I tried to explain to them the injustice of their demand and made clear to them the duties and the responsibilities of the Executive Board of their union. Later I attended one of their members' meetings, where I learned that the members at large were loyal and faithful to their organization, and only a small group was acting in an irresponsible manner.

Vice-President Lefkovits was assigned by President Schlesinger to stay with Local No. 50 for a while, in order to settle this trouble.

* * *

Local No. 20, our Raincoat Makers' Union of New York, is at present in a very good financial condition. Formerly they were always suffering from inability to make ends meet, and very often had to appeal to the International for financial assistance. They now have in their treasury over \$10,000, and the trade is in a prosperous condition.

* * *

Local No. 62, White Goods Workers' Union of New York, some time ago re-

quested conferences with the employers' association of their trade, for the purpose of discussing an increase of wages for their workers to meet the extra cost of living. The manufacturers flatly refused these demands, and the local is preparing for aggressive steps in connection with this problem. (While the meeting was being held, at which this report was read, the manufacturers receded from their position and concede a satisfactory increase of wages. Ed.)

* * *

Local No. 6, the Embroidery Workers' Union of New York, made a similar request and received a similar answer from their manufacturers, and as a result they are likewise preparing to compel the employers, through strikes, to grant them their just demands.

* * *

On December 11th a special joint meeting of the executive boards of all our locals in New York City was held at 7 East 15th Street, the People's House, to devise plans of raising a large sum of money for the Jewish War Sufferers in Europe. At this meeting, which was attended by Louis Marshall and Jacob H. Schiff, it was decided after deliberation that Washington's Birthday be assigned as the day when all our workers will turn over their earnings as a donation to the fund for the Jewish War Sufferers. Plans have been mapped out, offices opened, and a campaign has been started to make this movement successful on a large scale. President Schlesinger is chairman of the committee, Phillip Kaplowitz is manager, Max D. Danish is secretary and I am the treasurer. The Relief Committee was appointed by President Schlesinger and consists of the following representatives of the different locals: Brothers Saul Metz, Jacob Halperin, Fania M. Cohn, Louis Langer, Bernat Fenster, Manny Weiss, Nathan M. Minkow, Isadore Epstein, Morris Brass, Jacob Heller, Philip Berman, Max Bruck, Meyer Weinstein, Sol Seidman, Abraham E. Kazan, Henry Zucker, Harry Greenberg, Morris Uran, Samuel Shore, Max Luboff, Samuel Lefkovits, Isidore Graff and Abraham Ellner. It has an Executive Committee which is composed of: Benj. Schlesinger, Abraham Baroff, Morris Sigman, Harry Wandor, Sol Seidman, Ossip Walinsky, Phillip Kaplowitz and Max D. Danish.

The initiation stamp reform, which was decided upon by the General Executive Board, went into effect on February 1st, 1918. After a meeting with all the secretaries of the large locals in New York City, we decided on a special card on which these stamps are to be pasted and which are to be the property of the applicants and serve as a receipt for the installment payments. We decided to charge one-half of one per cent. of the gross value of the stamps. In brief, the reasons for adopting the initiation stamp are as follows: (1) to be able to control the initiation income of the locals and (2) to impress more strongly upon the members of our local unions the fact of their being initiated as members of the International Union.

* * *

I feel it my duty to report to you about our educational undertaking. The cost of the educational department to date amounts to \$2,000, and now our weekly expenses are from \$150 to \$200 per week. I was at the opening of the International courses at the Washington Irving High School, also at Public School No. 62, on the East Side. These were quite successful affairs. I am not in a position, however, to state how far we have met with success in the conduct of the courses. I know it is a very hard and slow process and I also know that Vice-President Fannia Cohn has been working very hard ever since she was engaged by the Educational Committee to promote this work. She is constantly busy organizing the committees in the locals, keeping in touch with the students and trying her best to interest the locals in the importance of the work. I also wish to say that the entire burden has so far been left by the Educational Committee which was appointed by President Schlesinger, on the shoulders of the paid officers, and Brother E. Lieberman, the chairman of the committee. The vice-presidents and the other members of the Educational Committee as a whole, have interested themselves very little with the work of this department. My opinion is that President Schlesinger might have a meeting with this Committee, and if he is satisfied that the members of the Educational Committee do not attend to their duties, it would be advisable to appoint others instead.

AB. BAROFF,
Gen. Secy.-Treas.

REPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

To the General Executive Board, Toledo, Ohio.

At your last Quarterly Meeting, held in October, we submitted a report, setting forth a plan for our educational activities. In this report we shall review in brief the work which has been accomplished so far.

The opening celebration of the International center was held in the auditorium of the Washington Irving High School on December 1st, 1917. Every local of our International Union in New York City was represented. The spirit of the members, and, in fact, of all present, was a very admirable one. All felt that this new activity of our International commands the highest respect of the members and deserves serious attention.

Soon after the opening, registration for the various courses began. At this present time the following courses are being given at the International center:

Fridays—History of Group Control by Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, of Columbia University.

Saturdays—Social Interpretation of Literature by Dr. Louis Friedland, of City College.

Saturdays—Development of Internationalism by Senator LaFontaine.

Sundays—Public Speaking by Dr. Gustave Shultz.

Sundays—Trade Unionism by Miss Juliet Stuart Poyntz.

The courses are being satisfactorily attended, the average attendance being about 200. Most of the students take more than one course. We believe that these courses will greatly benefit our members, and through them, our various organizations.

The conditions in our country, especially the coal situation, has greatly hindered our original plans. We have been unable to proceed with the opening of the local centers, as we intended to do. Some of the schools were temporarily closed and no permits were given for the use of schools on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. We were even obliged to secure other headquarters for our International center, and at this present time the courses of the International center are being given in the Public Library at 328 East 23rd Street. We were very fortunate in securing the use of

this building. However, our committee was determined to carry on the work in spite of all obstacles. Accordingly, we have already opened a down-town center in Public School No. 62, the opening celebration of which was held on Friday, February 1st, 1918. The courses in this center will be given mainly in Jewish, and are as follows:

Mondays—Literature and Public Speaking by B. Vladeck.

Tuesdays will be devoted to instruction in health. A lecture on some important health topic will be given under the supervision of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Gymnasium practice will be given by Miss Lucy M. Retting, physical director.

Wednesdays—Civics by H. Rogoff.

Thursdays—Elementary Economics by Dr. Frank P. Rosenblatt.

Besides, every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, classes in English, elementary and advanced, will be conducted. The Board of Education has promised to provide teachers for the English classes.

Due to the coal situation, we have postponed the opening of a center in Brownsville, but the demand for such a center is so great that we feel it cannot be postponed any longer. More than 250 members have registered for courses and they insist that they be given the same opportunity as the members in New York. We are therefore making arrangements now to open a center there in Public School No. 84, Glenmore and Stone Avenues, where a similar schedule to the downtown center will be given.

As you see, no efforts have been spared in extending our educational activities. We realize that all these activities may be a financial burden on our International, and we therefore called a conference of the Educational Committees of our locals, to devise some means by which the burden upon the treasury of our International shall be diminished. The conference decided to recommend to the locals to appropriate 5c per member for this season of our activities. That, we figured, after making the necessary deductions, would give us more than \$2,000.00 to carry on the work. Having the necessary funds, we intended to extend our work to other cities, especially Philadelphia and Boston. In fact, they requested our chairman to visit their cities and to assist them in working out a feasible plan for educational activities. However,

President Schlesinger was utterly opposed to raising any money through the locals for this purpose at the present time, and also to inaugurating similar work in other cities. Nothing was left for us, therefore, but to continue our work in its present form.

Beginning Monday, February 11th, Professor Charles A. Beard will begin a course on the Economic History of the United States, at the Washington Irving High School. It is needless for us to dwell upon the tremendous importance of such a course, given by such an eminent authority. We feel greatly gratified in having secured the valuable assistance of Professor Beard. His connection with us will greatly strengthen our work and add prestige to our Workers' University. At the same time we will also start a course in practical problems of trade unionism. Various lectures will be given on this topic, by such prominent lecturers as Morris Hillquit, Robert Bruere, John Fitch and Dr. N. I. Stone. This course will begin on Friday, February 15th, with a lecture by Morris Hillquit on collective bargaining in the garment trades.

We feel that our agitation for educational work has borne fruit. The spirit among our members and the desire for such activities has been greatly stimulated. The possibilities of this work are great. We have probably made mistakes, but we are certain that we are on the right path. We sincerely hope that this work will be encouraged by the active cooperation of the General Executive Board.

Trusting that this will meet with your approval, I am

Respectfully,

ELIAS LIEBERMAN,
Chairman.

80 LOCALS ORGANIZED

Lafayette, Ind.—Officers of the Retail Clerks' International Protective association report that 80 charters have been issued during the past 12 months.

Large sums of money have been expended in benefits, it is stated, and these have not been confined to sick and funeral benefits alone, but a goodly sum has been appropriated for strike benefits and other relief.

Local News and Events

(In this department, which is a regular feature of this journal every month, local life and movement is being reported for the information of our members and readers.)

Compiled by M. D. DANISH

NEW YORK CLOAK OPERATORS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 1

Brother Wm. Bloom, Secretary, reports:—

"The new office of Local No. 1 is a beehive of activity. We already feel at home in our new headquarters. Over 6,500 cloak operators are paying regular dues on our books, and these are members in the full sense of the word. They have learned from bitter experience of the painful results disorganization and demagoguery bring in their wake, and they have resolved not to be misled by unscrupulous and irresponsible men in the future. The effects of the trouble that occurred in the Cloak Operators' Union during the past year will serve as a great object lesson to the Jewish labor movement in general. The spirit of irresponsible demagoguery has met its deserved rebuke. Our International Union struck a blow at the enemies of organized labor who were parading as its friends in an ultra-revolutionary mask for mean and selfish purposes.

"The great question that is agitating the mass of the cloak operators today is the week work system which is now being discussed everywhere as the next big step in the improvement of the working conditions of our men and women. In fact, about one hundred shops have already adopted the week work system instead of piece work and results are quite satisfactory from the reports that have reached our office. The referendum vote on the week work system will soon be submitted by the Joint Board to the cloak shops, and it appears, from all signs, that a big majority will be recorded for the introduction of this great reform in the lives of the cloakmakers in New York City. The International convention will, no doubt, endorse this movement and will make week work a standard in the entire cloak industry of the country."

PHILADELPHIA CLOAKMAKERS LOCALS NOS. 2, 53, 69

Brother A. Neubauer, recording secretary of Local No. 2, writes as follows:—

"The spring season is in full bloom in Philadelphia just now and our cloakmakers say that they can hardly recall such a busy spring season. It may be due, to a certain extent, to the fact that there are fewer cloakmakers today in Philadelphia than ever. A number of them are working on army uniforms, and then again, it may be true that our employers have very large orders this spring. At any rate, the shops are very busy and in some factories there is a scarcity of workers. In spite of that, we have complaints that in many factories the people are not making a living and the prices are far from desirable. This is due mainly to the fact that when work first appeared in the shops, some volunteer price committees began settling prices on the garments, being very eager to get started on the work. It would have been much better for themselves and the workers in their shops if these self-appointed committees had waited a couple of weeks before settling prices. As it is, they have no one but themselves to blame, because it is very hard to rectify these mistakes at present.

"In other shops where the price committees acted with less haste and in accordance with the instructions from our office, things are much better, and the workers make from \$50 to \$60 a week. But these shops are exceptions; the ordinary wages range from \$20 to \$30 a week. In some shops we have succeeded in making re-settlements, but even these do not make up for the losses, because the seasons are short and the cost of living is mounting higher from day to day.

"At the last meeting of our local the conditions of our trade were very ear-

nestly discussed. At this meeting some of the oldest cloakmakers in our city were present, and men who have been for tens of years in cloak shops agreed that the only solution for the evils of the cloak trade is the adoption of week work. It was decided to recommend to the Joint Board to take up the discussion of week work with all our branches and to arrange for one general mass meeting, at which this matter should be decided once for all. It is yet hard to say what most of the workers think of week work, but on the surface it appears that the majority of our members here in Philadelphia are inclined to adopt this system."

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BALTIMORE CLOAKMAKERS' UNION

Brother A. D. Glushakow, recording secretary of Local No. 4, writes:

"The idea of forming a Joint Board of the International locals of Baltimore—Locals Nos. 4, 72, 101 and 110, which was put into effect several months ago, appears to have been the most desirable thing for our Baltimore organization. Full credit for the success of the venture must be given to our International President, Brother Schlesinger, who, during his last visit to Baltimore, inspired the local workers to give their full support to the Joint Board and to conduct the organization work in a much improved manner.

"Local No. 4 is doing all within its power to help organize the other three locals. Only recently a decision was adopted by this local to the effect that each shop chairman in the cloak shops be instructed to demand that the cutters of the shop must belong to the Cutters' Union, Local No. 110, and that in case they refuse to join this organization, the cloakmakers are to refrain from working with them. The results of this decision have already proved to be excellent, and the cutters' local has been growing ever since.

"The Ladies' Tailors, Local, No. 101, has been making good strides lately, with the assistance of our able organizer, Brother D. Cohen, and at present they are doing work on a real solid basis. The tailors are settling prices in their shops through their own shop committees, and conditions are quite satisfactory.

"Things are different, however, in the organization of the waist and white goods

workers. Our organizers are spending a good deal of energy and time in organizing the women workers, who are largely Gentile, but these are coming into the organization at a very slow pace. Personally, I am inclined to think that the road in these trades will be a hard one to travel.

"We had elections here on February 9th, and Brother A. Ratkowitz was re-elected for the third time as business agent of Local No. 4, and as assistant organizer of all the other locals. We raised his salary owing to the present high cost of living.

"It was decided to tax every member of Local No. 4 ten per cent. on the week's wages for the week of February 22nd, for the War Relief Fund, and we have appealed to the brothers and sisters of our local organization to keep their promises and to donate freely and of their own accord. We hope that the feeling of sympathy toward our stricken brothers and sisters in Europe will materialize in a substantial sum of money and will relieve some broken down lives and hearts to some degree."

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BOSTON CLOAKMAKERS' UNION LOCALS 12, 24, 56, 73

Brother H. Hurwitz, manager of the Boston Joint Board, writes:

"The spring season is here, and during the last few weeks its influence has been felt in all the shops. From all signs the season will be a pretty good one. The manufacturers admit that in spite of the fact that the price of materials is higher than before, they have received larger orders than they did for the last spring season. The shops are being filled up with workers who are leaving their temporary occupations and coming back to work at their trades.

"The Joint Board decided at its last meeting to make Saturday, the 16th of March, the relief day for our unfortunate sisters and brothers across the seas. We are making all arrangements to render this day a great success. We chose the 16th of March because we expect the season to be at its height at that time, and our workers will therefore be in a better position to contribute part of their earnings.

"The news that President Schlesinger was instrumental in obtaining exemption for the garment trades from the late Monday closing order, has created a great sensa-

tion in Boston. The manufacturers, on the one hand, and the workers on the other, are beginning to realize that our organization wields a tremendous moral force in the economic life of our country.

"The news that Boston has been selected by the members of the International in the just closed referendum vote, as the next convention city, has filled the hearts of our workers with joy. We eagerly expect the arrangements committee of the International to come to Boston to make preparations for the convention, and we shall endeavor to help them in every possible way to make this convention a memorable one in the history of the International Union."

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CHICAGO CLOAKMAKERS' UNION LOCALS 18, 44, 81

Vice-President Schoolman writes:—

"The most interesting occurrence of the past month is undoubtedly the beginning of the spring season. Indeed, all of us are glad that the slack period is over. It brought a good deal of privation to our members, as all slack seasons do, and the conditions were aggravated during the last few months on account of the general bad times that prevailed in our city.

"We are not as yet in a position to say whether this season will meet with our expectations. We are assured, however, that there will be enough work in the shops. But these assurances have come to us in the beginning of every season, and these cheerful reports usually come from the employers and the trade. I wonder if they are not really inspired by the ulterior motive of making our people believe that in view of the fact that there will be so much work to do, the workers might make the garments at lower prices?

A Home of Our Own

"A home owned by our own Union; a little corner for ourselves; a place that we can point out as belonging cooperatively to our organization, is the present cry of a large number of our members. The very fact that our workers are thinking of an enterprise of this kind is cheerful news to all of us. The days when the Chicago cloakmakers thought of nothing else but of his own machine and bundle are apparently passing away and a spirit of unity is taking its place.

Strike Fund

"Our Strike Fund has during the past year increased considerably and we now have about \$6,000 in that Fund. We have no reason to doubt that the coming year will swell this Fund up to \$10,000, a sum which we set as our goal at the time of its inauguration. Of course, we are not quite as naive as to think that we can successfully conduct a general strike with such a small sum, but we are certain that we could handle a single or a group strike with our own means.

Sick Benefit Fund

"Our Sick Fund is in very good shape. Of course, it is not pleasant to report that we had 211 sick cases last year and that these received about \$3,000 support from the Fund; but it is better that we have a fund to take care of these sick members than to leave them in their misery without any support whatever. The Sick Fund has on hand now \$4,623.01, and we hope that we may not have to use much of it for the coming year. Five members of our organization died within the last year and their families received death benefit.

The Button System

"Owing to the strict supervision of the shops through the button system, our members are in pretty good standing all the time. The last slack period, however, made some inroads into the credit side of our ledger. Some members have fallen into arrears and they come to the office to complain that they are being interfered with now in their work, as they have not an up-to-date button. Others did not receive their sick benefits on account of that, and still others could not get loans from the union for the same reason. We have strict and fast rules, however, in this particular matter, and the union insists first and last that dues must be paid under all circumstances. It involves the very existence of the organization. We have proposed to our members to start a campaign in each shop among the delinquent members to pay up their arrears during the busy season. Both these men and the union will profit by this, and the shop chairmen are depended upon to do their duties in this respect.

Our Savings Department

"When we first established our Savings Department in our union we never sus-

pected how many cloakmakers had savings accounts in the local banks. We have discovered a considerable number of them, but we had our misgivings at the beginning as to whether these people would bring their money into the savings department of the union. We had in mind a number of cloakmakers who save only from season to season and eat up their little savings during the slack period. This type of cloakmaker very seldom visits the savings bank, and his money, which usually consists of \$100 or less, is kept by him or his wife within the confines of the house. For this type of cloakmaker we really started our savings department. The Union gives the depositor full guarantee for his money and keeps it for him in a national bank, paying two per cent. interest on it. We expect that the convenience of depositing and the unusual accommodations that the union offers the members for withdrawing the money, will attract a great many members to this institution and will eventually rebound to the benefit of our members."

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ST. LOUIS CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 78

Brother Ben Gilbert, reports:

"I wrote you in my last report that we expected President Schlesinger in our city. As he came for one day only, we could not get the cloakmakers together for a general meeting, but we had a meeting of the Executive Board and discussed the demands that we were to present to the employers. Brother Schlesinger, advised us not to make general demands to all the manufacturers and suggested that we tackle individual shops. Another matter which we agreed upon was a raise of wages in all the shops, and this matter was also to be taken up in groups of shops at a time.

"We at once tackled this proposition and sent out letters to three firms, asking for an increase of 20 per cent. for piece workers, and for week workers—\$2.00 for men and \$1.00 for women. After a few days' negotiations, we won an increase of 12½ per cent. for piece workers, the above mentioned raises for the week workers and the full recognition of the union. In this way we went successfully from shop to shop. We had a strike in only one shop, that of Greenberg & Rupp, which is considered

the best cloak house in the city. This shop was a strictly anti-union house until now, and we had a strike for a week until we succeeded in getting a full union agreement, and we unionized the shop completely. I am confident that before the month is over all the cloakmakers in this city will have gained the increase.

* * *

MONTREAL CLOAKMAKERS' UNION

Brother S. Labensohn, manager of the Montreal Joint Board, writes:

"The season is now in full swing here. There is plenty of work in the shops and our people are working excessive overtime. Our cloakmakers will not understand that long hours of overtime will not lengthen their season. The seasons in the cloak trade would surely start four or five weeks earlier than usual if our employers knew that the workers would refuse to work from twenty to thirty hours overtime weekly. The Montreal cloakmakers, however, are shortsighted and do not understand their interests.

"The appeal of the General Office to all the locals to participate in the relief movement for the war sufferers, found a strong echo in Montreal. At a general members' meeting the question was discussed and our members, realizing the importance of this undertaking, decided to contribute part of their earnings for this desirable purpose.

"The organization work in our city is going along comparatively slowly. In the past we used to be able to organize all the workers in the trade in a period of a few weeks. At present, however, we have adopted different methods, and we are going to organize the local people on a more solid basis. In past years we were anxious to take in members at \$1.00 per head just for the sake of giving them books, and it was an easy matter, therefore, to enroll them. In this manner we used to deceive ourselves with the thought that we already had a solid union in Montreal. But after the first flush of excitement was over, the members and the union drifted away, and it was necessary to start the thing all anew. At present, however, a man must pay dues in order to be regarded as a union member, and a new member must pay his full initiation fee before he is admitted.

(Continued on next page.)

The Apple

(Told by a Shop Girl)

From the Yiddish of Abraham Reisen by A. R.

The shop where I worked was one of the many shops to be found downtown. The longest hours and the smallest wages prevailed there. The long hours, however, were not so oppressive and difficult to bear as the gross insults to which the forty or so Jewish girls were subjected by the employer and particularly by his foreman, who excelled the employer in coarseness, impudence and cynical insinuations.

Agitators, both men and women, repeatedly attempted to organize the women workers of such shops, but their efforts met with scant success. Jaded and physically exhausted from overwork, our wills to fight against our oppressors were blunted and our spirit of resistance was enfeebled. What was especially lacking in us was the hope and faith that anyone could really

help us. Excepting a few girls who possessed stronger faith and more energy, none of us ever went to the meeting called by the union. Thus the slavery in our shop grew and bore us down with its weight; and the more the slavish yoke fastened itself around our necks the less able we felt to shake it off.

This continued for many weary months and even years. . . . It was three years since I had been working there. Yet there was no possibility even for me to leave the shop. There were not many shops in this trade, which manufactured a specific kind of work, a certain line of sweaters.

And who knows how long this system of bondage would have continued in the shop if not for an accident with an apple. It was this that set us free

SAN FRANCISCO CLOAKMAKERS, LOCAL NO. 8

Brother August Kruger, secretary, writes:

"We have a strike on hand here for a cause that may appear peculiar to you. We work by the week in San Francisco, and we like the system pretty well. In fact, until recently, none of the local firms ever attempted to introduce the piece work system in the shops. Lately, however, two firms attempted to start piece work, and the cloakmakers showed a determined front to oppose this system, which they regard as injurious to their interests. Things went so far that we decided to strike in any shop that might attempt to force the issue on this question. Just now the workers of the Unique Cloak & Suit Company of this city are on strike against the piece work system. We are certain of winning this strike and we expect it to be an effectual lesson to the local manufacturers, and that their dream of piece work will be abandoned forever.

NEW OFFICERS IN LOCAL NO. 34

The Bridgeport Corset Cutters' Union, Local 34, has elected following officers:

President—Harry Hanson.

Vice-President—Irving C. Taylor.

Financial Secretary—George Squinobal.

Recording Secretary—Joseph Kubik.

Treasurer—William S. Hoffman.

Guide—Thomas Wilkes.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Clifford Twiss.

Auditor—Patrick Fitzpatrick.

Executive Board—Levi Blein, Hugh Flood and Thomas Daley.

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Union

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GENERAL OFFICERS

Benjamin Schlesinger - - - President
Ab. Baroff - - - General Sec'y-Treas.

from the insults of the boss and the foreman, reduced our hours of labor, increased our wages and taught us to stand up for our human rights and rights as women. It taught us to rise like one man against wrong and abuse committed against us.

One day there came to work in our shop a young girl, whose appearance was almost that of a child. . . . During the first few days she cast furtive, pitiful glances around her, as if in quest of someone to help and protect her. She impressed us as one who had been affectionately fondled, in fact, as all young girls to whom work in a shop is a new, unpleasant experience. From time to time she opened her white bag which was suspended from her neck as is the habit with oriental shepherdesses, took out a small slice of buttered bread, and eating it rapidly, stealthily, to conceal the fact from the boss and foreman. She evidently enjoyed a good appetite. It was also possible that she thereby sought relief from the weary monotony of the work.

Once she drew out from her bag a beautiful red apple and bit into it with her small, white teeth. The juice moistened her fresh, red lips which looked like two roses sparkling with the early morning dew. . . . She seemed to have been absent-minded at the time, forgetting that she was in the shop, for her hand holding the apple was slightly stretched out. Now the boss suddenly appeared, and seeing her thus with the apple in her hand he grew furious with rage. This chit, he thought, did not seem to feel that she was in his shop, but as if at home with her parents. He came up to her with his accustomed stare out of his bulging gray eyes and burst out:

"Where d'ye think you are, hey?"

The young soul lost herself, and instead of answering his question, not knowing what to answer, she naively smiled to him.

The boss was boiling over with indignation. Did she mean to annoy him, then? He snatched the apple from her hand and flung it into the basket that stood some distance away.

The girl burst into tears, crying piteously: "My apple, my apple!"

All the girl workers of the shop were deeply stirred at this scene. It seemed to them that she was not weeping for the loss of the apple, but for the loss of the fresh bloom of her youth of which the boss robbed her by his arbitrary harsh act.

And then we did not need any agitators, leaflets or proclamations. The fresh rosy apple so malignantly torn from the young girl's hand, and her piteous sobs, aroused an overpowering feeling of protest in our hearts and awakened the light of reason in our dulled, torpid minds.

Upon leaving the factory after work we decided to come to the shop the next day each one with an apple, and that at a given signal by one of us all should bite into their apples at the same time.

And alone the effect of this decision made everyone feel as if freed from a heavy yoke. We felt sure of victory.

Two o'clock the next day I gave the signal. Every one of us put aside our work. Forty girls all reached for their red apples from their bags, and, as if at the behest of an invisible commander, everyone bit into her apple.

Apple juice ran on every lip, but inwardly all hearts derived force and will-power from the daring act.

The boss and foreman stood as if petrified, and in the first few moments they were so bewildered as to seem unable to move a limb. Soon, however, the foreman recovered and then the boss.

"What is this?" they demanded.

"Apple! apples! apples!" all exclaimed with one voice. It was the voice of triumph reverberating throughout the shop.

The victory was ours.

Now this shop is one of the freest in the downtown district. We are not only free to eat apples, but to sing songs, and the work is now easier. Having tasted with the apple the sweet sense of freedom, we ceased to be slaves.

We bless the soul of that young child who was first to eat the apple and open our eyes.

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40. New Haven Corset Workers.....	393 Columbus Ave., New Haven, Conn.
41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers....	126 Green St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
45. Syracuse, N. Y., Dressmakers.....	913 Almond St., Syracuse, N. Y.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....	244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union....	231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....	724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors..	387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....	218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....	409 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....	80 E. 10th St., New York City
59. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors.....	106 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.
60. Phila. Embroidery Workers.....	2126 N. 7th St., Phila., Pa.
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers, 37	Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.
62. New York White Goods Workers.....	35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....	112 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union..	Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....	103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....	813 George St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....	16 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....	194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....	951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers, 1023	E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....	H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....	26 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....	505 Reed St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....	54 Burton St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order	Workers, 725 Lexington av., N. Y. C.
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....	909 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
82. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squares & Bushelers' Union,	228 Second av., N. Y. C.
83. Toronto, Canada, Cutters.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
84. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio
85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Gar. Workers' Union..	92 St. James St., St. John, N. B., Can.
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....	Forward B'ldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers,	1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....	1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
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QUESTIONS of IMPORTANCE BEFORE OUR CONVENTION

By B. SCHLESINGER

The delegates will come to our International convention in Boston in a spirit unlike that which prevailed at previous conventions. We shall not come there to heal wounds, ventilate grievances or straighten out internal feuds. This time we shall assemble at the convention with the main purpose of doing constructive work—planning new departures and ascending new heights which we had no time or opportunity to approach before.

The question of week work will probably occupy the first and foremost place in this program of constructive work. After a long campaign of agitation, of education through our press and by mass meetings the New York Joint Board has submitted the question of week work to a referendum vote of the workers in the cloak trade. The great mass of cloakmakers have learned to understand the inequality inherent in the old piece work system and the absolute necessity of replacing it by a system of week work, and they will express their convictions in this referendum vote.

Then will begin the most important work for the International Union, and this remains for the convention to deliberate upon. In theory week work is a necessity and a good thing. Week work will render it possible to build up a strong organization. It will enable the union to have complete control over the shops and factories. It will do away with nine-tenths of all shop troubles growing out of disputes over prices. It will save the workers' money and energy. It will remove the cause of friction and ill-feeling between individual employers and their workers and between one worker and another of the same or of various shops. Week work inspires the hope that in time it will be possible so to organize the trade and so to arrange the work, as to distribute it more or less over the entire year, and this would be a blessing to the workers.

All these points we had made clear to the workers by a prolonged agitation before we submitted the question to the vote. But as already mentioned, this is only the theoretical side of the question. It will devolve upon the convention to consider its practical side and elaborate the details of effecting the change.

We shall have to consider the proposed scale of wages for the workers of the various crafts and must outline a mode of procedure with the manufacturers in presenting the demand, defining the nature of preparations in case we encounter unforeseen obstacles. So far, it is not certain what attitude the employers will take upon the question. Obviously, if the workers think that

week work will benefit them, it might not please the employers. If the workers expect to derive advantages from the proposed change it might arouse the employers' suspicions. Therefore the convention must decide on certain preparation for all kinds of trouble with the manufacturers and map out a plan of action.

* * *

The question of week work is an old one and may be regarded as half completed. I want to discuss now two new constructive propositions that the convention will have to dispose of because they are of the highest importance.

1. The introduction for all the members of our locals of benefit funds directly controlled by our International Union.

I have spoken and written of benefit funds on many and various occasions. I have always believed that a union should enter thoroughly into all questions touching the workers' economic life. An active, vigorous union must hold its members closely attached to itself not only with the bond of improved wages and hours in the shop but with all other bonds of importance to the life of the worker and his family.

The union must regard it as part of its task to help and protect the worker in all his needs and difficulties. It must consider itself as the worker's mainstay in life, and make it possible for him to come to the union whenever he is in trouble and distress, and leave in its hands the fortunes and destiny of his wife and children if fate should deprive them of his life.

This should be the ideal of every great and powerful labor union. The worker's needs and economic problems by no means end with the shop or his wages. True, the shop and his wages are of primary importance, but they are not his only needs. The trade union which fails to take into account all other needs and material requirements of its members saps its own vital strength. Only that union is truly strong which takes an abiding interest in all that affects the worker and his family at all crucial moments of their material existence.

All the great unions of the country recognize this principle and all of them have sundry benefit funds based on the peculiar circumstances surrounding the trade and the members. In trades where the workers are subject to tuberculosis the unions provide cures in sanitariums. Where unemployment is rife and the slack seasons unduly long, they have out-of-work funds. Sick funds are very general. The principle of insurance against sickness and distress is widely recognized, and every organization strives to give effect to it as far as possible.

In our union this vital principle has been almost neglected. Until recently we have not looked at the affairs of the union from this comprehensive point of view. We have regarded the union from the narrow, confined limits of strikes and wages. For this our special circumstances are mainly to blame. So long as an element of insecurity entered into the situation, so long as the union rested on an unstable foundation, it was impossible to devote time and attention to matters outside wages and hours. We were in duty bound to concentrate on one thing—assure the foundation of the union.

Now, however, the situation is altogether different. Our locals are firmly established. We are regarded as one of the exemplary labor organizations in the land. Now it would be criminal to neglect these reforms. Now it is our duty to provide for a systematic protection of our members against recurring slackness and hardships.

At the convention, which will begin in Boston next month, our International Union must make a start in introducing benefits for its members. I do not believe that it is necessary to effect this reform at one bound. We should proceed slowly and deliberately, but we must make a beginning without delay.

If only a beginning is made the movement will grow and succeed.

The convention ought to decide that upon the death of a member in good standing, if affiliated with the union for a year, his family should be paid from the treasury of the International Union the sum of \$500, and such payments should be covered by a special assessment levied on the entire membership at the end of every three months.

Thus, for instance, if in course of any three months twenty deaths should be recorded, the families of the deceased members—their widows or other legal heirs—should be immediately and without delay paid from the treasury of the International \$500 in each case, and the total sum of \$10,000 should subsequently be covered by a tax on the entire membership. At the end of the three months the International Union should publish the names of the twenty deceased members and the names and addresses of their heirs to whom the money has been paid. The 100,000 members of the International Union should then be called upon to cover the disbursed sum of \$10,000 by a levy of 10 cents on each member.

This is, perhaps, not the best way of paying death benefits. It would be better to have a fixed assessment or dues for this purpose regardless of the sums disbursed every three months—an assessment sufficient to cover all possible expenses incurred in connection with this benefit. But as a beginning the system of distributing the assessment in proportion to the payment would be more practicable. First, because it will thus be possible to ascertain what the average assessment should be. Secondly, every member will know that he pays just as much as is necessary to maintain the fund. It will not be suggested by anyone that the union profits by the system. Thirdly, the special assessment every three months will bring home to the members the good and useful object achieved by this fund. Those who will pay the assessment will feel that their dimes have gone to help widows and orphans of their former fellow workers and will strengthen their faith in the importance of keeping up the fund. Then, as the membership will grow accustomed to the mortuary fund, it will be possible to arrange it on the same basis as other regular payments to the union, for the regular payment system is really the easiest and most practical way of running a benefit fund.

* * *

2. The second important proposition that will come before the convention is not altogether new. It was discussed at previous conventions and partial solutions were decided upon. But the time was not ripe to put those solutions into practice and they had to be postponed. Now, however, the time has come to carry out a fundamental reform. It is urgedly necessary that the existing wasteful and injurious system should not be permitted to continue.

I am referring here to our press. Our locals and the International Union are now spending more money on various local publications than any other international union, and we derive less benefit from our press than other unions from their publications.

A number of our big locals have each their own local organ. Some locals are publishing several organs in English, Yiddish and Italian. Independently of these the International is publishing its official magazine.

The result is that avoidable misunderstanding and disharmony are created. The editor of every publication regards himself as *the responsible person* to impose his opinion on the union as to what should be or should not be done. If the editorship falls into the hands of a certain clique the paper is apt to stir up passion and friction among the members of the various locals and place the entire organization in jeopardy. I have no doubt that many of the troubles that have occurred in the Cloakmakers' Union would never have been so serious if not for these separate publications.

Secondly, the locals having separate organs are incurring an unnecessary expense. There is not a single international union in the country which throws out so much treasure on printing papers and journals as the locals of our International Union. Tens of thousands of dollars are thus wasted every year.

Thirdly, this system does more harm than good. The object of trade publications is to broaden the members' views, teach and educate them. But under the present system the effect produced is the opposite of that intended. The separate local publication confines itself to narrow craft interests and the reader fails to learn about the wider interests and more general labor questions affecting the members of the International as a whole. Psychologically the cloakmaker is apt to become a more confirmed cloakmaker by reading his local organ exclusively. Similarly is the case with the waistmaker, and so forth.

This must be changed. All the present publications must be merged into one general International weekly organ having various departments for the various trades and a general department for general trade union and International questions. A publication of this kind would be a true educational medium for our members. By means of such an organ they would become conversant with the whole organization, its various trades and activities in all centers of industry.

So long as there were inner disputes within the union it was hard to carry out this reform. The effort to effect it might have been misinterpreted. The International officers might have been charged with making an attempt to "suppress" the opinions of a section of the members, to deny them the right of free press, and so forth. Consequently we postponed the matter and have waited. *Now* such a charge can not be made. Peace and harmony prevails in all the local organizations. It cannot be insinuated that there is politics behind the plan. All the delegates will now consider the question logically and with unbiassed minds and will have to admit that we are right in demanding this reform.

We must have one general great union organ edited by capable journalists and writers—an organ which should reach all our members and inform them of all that is happening in our extensive organization. It should also be the medium for educating our members in all general questions which have a close and vital bearing upon the workers' life and labor.

The Reorganization of our Locals

By AB. BAROFF

If we had a 100 per cent. organization; if our locals succeeded in abolishing the evils from which we suffer; if our large membership took an abiding interest in all the affairs and activities of our local unions, no new issues would arise. Then it would be impossible for false messiahs to mislead our members.

Many suggestions have been made for improving the labor conditions of our members, and while we are seeking to remedy the evils and benefit our organization, we are met by the fact that the present form of our local organization is largely responsible for our failing to reach a 100 per cent. membership and for the lack of interest in their local unions on the part of the members.

In the LADIES' GARMENT WORKER for the months of January, February and March the question whether our form of local organization is the correct one is dealt with clearly and logically by a well-informed contributor.

The writer calls attention to many truths, and as I am almost sure that this earnest question will come before our next convention, I suggest specially to the prospective delegates to the convention to make a thorough study of the articles alluded to, so as to become familiar with this and other questions discussed in our official journal.

The form of organization proposed by this writer is that of small locals not exceeding 500 members—an idea which is new to us.

Section 4 of Article II Explained

Instinctively we have always supported the idea of small locals. At all our conventions the resolutions calling for one big union have been defeated. Our delegates have felt that the big local is not the best form of organization. If so, why have they embodied in our constitution Section 4 of Article II, which reads: "No more than one charter shall be granted to any branch of the trade in any city or locality without the consent of the existing local union"?

As first glance it seems that this law prohibits small locals, because it has been construed to mean that all engaged in the local trade shall belong to one local. But it is almost certain that the authors of this law were actuated by another reason. They feared that if more than one local was permitted to exist in one city, it would hinder the enforcement of equal wages and piece prices, or a uniform standard of labor conditions. Each local might present separate demands to the employers. This would cause destructive competition between the members of the locals and cause misunderstandings which would divide their forces and benefit only the employers. Thus the aforesaid law was adopted to insure unity among the workers in the trade.

It should be borne in mind that at the time the said paragraph was made part of our constitution no one could foretell with any degree of certainty how the form of our organization would develop and work out in practice. Joint boards were a new feature in our unions and it could not then be foreseen how this delegated body would regulate the relations between its affiliated locals, or with what skill or efficiency it would guard the interests of the workers and carry on negotiations with the manufacturers.

Joint Boards the Connecting Link

Now that we know that the joint boards, in the last eight years, have demonstrated their ability to protect the interests of all their members of whatever local and to maintain the integrity of the union, the idea of one big union in every city or branch of trade has outlived its usefulness. Now it is desirable to enquire whether the reorganization of our big locals into smaller units would not bring new life and spirit into our members.

The indifference of our members to the union and their non-attendance at meetings has caused me many a sleepless night. At such times painful and

gnawing reflections would trouble my heart and mind: namely, "Perhaps we are totally mistaken; perhaps our wish to have stable unions is only a dream, for the masses do not attend the meetings and are indifferent."

But soon the gloom would be dispelled by the memory of a chain of remarkable struggles waged by the same members. Visualizing their tremendous enthusiasm, their persistence and devotion in great strikes, my optimism would return. Surely, I told myself, our members are capable of evincing enthusiasm for the ideal of unity and of appreciating the meaning of solidarity in time of peace. Surely there is a cause for their present indifference. We have hoped that in time the situation would improve, but as there has been no change we have finally come to the conclusion that the only means of stimulating our members to an intelligent interest and activity in our organization is through smaller local unions.

Hoping That Others Will Do It

It is simply impossible to get in touch with all the members of a big local and arouse their interest in its affairs or move them to attend the local meeting. The very knowledge that the local has thousands of members provides everyone with a ready excuse. Everyone thinks that the meeting will have a large attendance without him or her. Everyone hopes that his or her duty will be performed by someone else; and those who attend the meeting feel disgusted because of the small attendance. Almost at every meeting one of the items for discussion is how to stimulate the interest of the members and secure their attendance at meetings. Gradually the disappointment with this condition grows to such an extent that even those who attended the meetings become remiss in their duty, telling themselves that they do not achieve any purpose by their attendance, and that the officers and executive board will take care of the members' interests. The suspicious member, on the other hand, is disposed to blame the officers for this state of affairs. It seems to him that the officers do not want the members to have a voice in the management of the union. This aggravates the

indifference and leads to demoralization.

But if our local membership did not exceed 500, it would be possible for the secretary to be in frequent correspondence with every member. He would know who attends and who does not attend the meetings, and would communicate with the latter and so arouse their interest.

Our Members Active in Other Organizations

Furthermore, our locals require a certain number of active members, to serve on the executive boards and on committees. In a local of thousands there is no opportunity for all active members to be chosen as executive board officers; hence we find in every local only a certain number of active spirits who nearly always serve on boards and committees, whether the local consists of 300 or 10,000 members. For in the big locals the initiative rests solely with the officers, and there is a tendency for the smaller locals to follow in this respect the example of the former. Consequently many of our members are active in various political and progressive organizations. They have energy and enterprise, but as they find no outlet therefor in their local union, they gravitate to other fields of activity. I do not mean to say that other organizations connected with the labor movement are not sufficiently important, but I wish to stress the point that we simply lose many intelligent persons who would be helpful in the active work of our union if an opportunity were afforded them.

In smaller locals such members would find an outlet for their energies. In many locals a larger number of members would find an opportunity to serve the cause and share the responsibility for the welfare of the union.

Smaller locals afford an opportunity for closer contact between one member and another, resulting in new ideas and plans for the benefit of the union.

Let us not look at this new idea of smaller locals with fear and suspicion. If carried out it is sure to be attended by beneficial results—closer unity, a more efficient control and a greater interest in their local affairs.

In my first article "Our Next Convention," published in the *Ladies' Garment Worker* for February, I promised to touch upon a long list of questions, and I shall deal with them briefly here.

The Question of Education

Almost at all our conventions many resolutions call for educational activity. At our last convention it was decided to create a special Educational Committee and an annual outlay of \$5,000 was appropriated for the purpose.

The Educational Committee will, no doubt, present its report to the convention of the work accomplished in the six months of its active life.

To me it is clear that if our aim is the intellectual development of *all* our members, \$5,000 a year is an insignificant sum. Our educational work is a long process. The bulk of our membership do not seem eager to seize the opportunity we are now affording them.

Why are most of our members indifferent to our educational endeavor? Why this contradiction? When we meet in convention a loud, insistent cry is raised that we must provide educational facilities. But when we establish a university for the members it is received with indifference.

There are, of course, psychological causes. One of these in particular is the growing anxiety to make ends meet. Our members are so weighted down by this all-absorbing care that their souls' longing to shake off their ignorance is practically benumbed. Therefore we shall have to reconsider the aim of our educational work.

If, however, we aim to keep up the present educational department for individual members only, the sum appropriated for the purpose may be utilized successfully in enabling individual members to get the necessary education which will fit them as local leaders.

Thus it should be clear for the delegates to the convention that with the limited finances which our International Union can spend for educational purposes it is impossible to carry out an educational scheme for *all* its members.

This being the case, the question is—does the educational benefit derived by individual members justify us in using the per capita of the International for the purpose?

Much more remains to be said on this subject, but I shall reserve it for the convention.

Our Monthly Magazine

The question of our monthly magazine will surely crop up again at the forthcoming convention. The General Executive Board feels that an International Union like ours must have its own official publication. Yet with all our efforts to improve the literary and trade features of our official journal, we have not accomplished the desired results. We have therefore reached the conclusion that our International Union should publish a weekly paper instead of some of our locals publishing their own local organs. The present state of affairs is not conducive to the formulation of one uniform policy by the International for the entire industry and all its locals. For this reason it is absolutely necessary to amalgamate all our publications and create one weekly organ which should express the policy of our entire organization—an organ which should reflect as in a mirror the life and activity of all the locals of the International Union. It is to be hoped that at this convention the delegates will deal with the question of our press intelligently and decide upon a wise and practical course.

Co-operative Enterprise

Since recently the co-operative idea has been to a limited extent acted upon in two of our locals—the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 15 of Philadelphia and the Cloak Pressers' Union, Local No. 35 of New York. The limited form of co-operation has created much enthusiasm among the membership of these locals.

Co-operation is one of the important things that our International Union should encourage among its members. By co-operative enterprise we might guard our people against the exorbitance of the food speculators who rob them of their earnings. All our gains in wages shrink as a result of the speculators' predatory methods. And if we decide that our International Union shall encourage and stimulate our locals to engage in co-operative enterprise I feel sure that the members will thereby be brought into closer touch with the union.

Local Unions of 500 Members

The Smaller the Local, the Greater the Friendship and Solidarity

By A. ROSEBURY

In the preceding two articles I endeavored to prove that our present system of big locals has radical defects and that if we want to remedy the defects our big locals must be reconstructed to consist of not more than 500 members.

The unity of our big locals is maintained by artificial means. Now, the membership of every local is held together through the local office where their names are registered. They are assumed to be united through their local officers, whose duty it is to visit the factories and "control the shops." Theoretically they are held together by their executive board and, in a sense, by the Joint Board.

Need for Fellowship

But are they united one member with another in thought and feeling? Does every one of the 10,000 members of a certain local realize that he is affiliated with a group of congenial people who are allied in a bond of fellowship, friendship and brotherhood? Do we sometimes hear our cloakmakers, skirtmakers, waistmakers, dressmakers, and so forth, refer to the union in private conversation in such fond terms as associated workers in past years spoke of their small society or club? Our locals have not and cannot have such a powerful attraction as the group or social circle in years past, simply because the group and the circle were small in number. There, all were personally acquainted; close friendship prevailed, while in our locals this is physically impossible.

In some of our locals the impersonality has reached so far that the members are spared even the only duty that had formerly brought them together face to face with their local officers and the union headquarters. I mean the sacred duty of paying their dues. In some of our big locals the entire burden of this duty has been thrown on the shoulders of our true and devoted shop chairmen or "chair

ladies." Thus *paying dues* has been turned into *collecting dues*. In such locals it is the duty of the shop chairmen to collect the dues and bring them to the office of the union, otherwise most of these dues might not be paid. And in thousands of cases the members do not know what really the union means—the chairman or chairlady is to them all that the union stands for.

In such locals the shop chairmen are the real union men and women; and it has been often stated quite correctly that the shop chairmen are the supporting columns on which the entire foundation of our union rests.

Utterly Dependent on the Shop Stewards

Of course the shop chairmen and chairladies render great and valuable services. We cannot speak too highly of their disinterested work as the spokesmen and representatives of the workers in the shops. But when the organization reaches a stage where the shop stewards are of paramount importance, while the masses of workers are hardly of any account except as dues payers, which often does mean that *No Chairman, No Union*, it is time to take stock of the situation.

In smaller locals, which feel and bear the entire responsibility for the existence and success of their local union, a much better system can be developed. In smaller locals there is no need to throw the burden of collecting dues upon the shoulders of the shop stewards. For, at best, this system is fraught with confusion and irregularity. Quite often the collections get so mixed up that it is impossible to tell whether it was "Bessie," or "Gussie" that paid them. Smaller locals can render their weekly meetings so interesting and attractive that members will look forward to them eagerly and pay their dues gladly, conscious of performing a great, sacred duty, involving their benefit and protection.

In some of our big locals where the members take their dues personally to the office of the union they have to wait in long lines. Under this system the personality of the member is completely overshadowed by the amount of money he has to pay or the number of dues stamps to which he is entitled. This is a cold, mechanical, soulless arrangement, in which the human being does not count at all.

Present Trying System of Dues Collection

Smaller locals can dispense with such an impersonal and unfeeling system. In a small local there is nothing to prevent the introduction of a monthly system of dues, which would save the secretary hours of writing and adding up figures; which would eliminate the frequent disputes with certain members who hotly claim that their payments were not entered, while the secretary, searching the records, cannot conceal his annoyance. In smaller locals it is possible to make the members feel such an absorbing interest in the union as will move them to save the time and labor of the secretary and other officials. There is no reason why such groups, joined in real fellowship, should not agree to lighten the officers' burdens and eliminate a tangled and confused system which is trying to the nerves and creating annoyance and bad blood.

True, some men and women are miserly and reluctant to part with their cash. Such members must be forced to pay their dues. But in a small local, where the personal feeling predominates, such members would feel the moral pressure of the local public opinion. They would soon find that to be backward means to cut a sorry figure, and no one, however miserly, will care to be known as an odious exception.

A Change—for the Better

But how are the smaller locals to be organized and constituted? Will the locals maintain harmony among themselves? Will not every local seek to foster separate interests, in the way of a separate office, a separate scale of wages and a separate policy? Will this change mean a revolution in the organization? Will the functions and duties of the locals, their executive boards and

joint boards have to undergo a radical change? Will it be necessary to change the laws of the constitution in regard to local autonomy, local management, shop strikes, local finances and local enterprise?

There is one answer to all these questions. The reconstitution of the locals certainly means a change, but—for the better, for the good and welfare of every local. The duties and functions of the locals, the executive boards and joint boards would remain the same: namely, to improve conditions and strengthen the union. There is no need to change the present form of local autonomy. Every local should be free in strictly local matters, yet closely allied with the rest of the locals in the same branch of trade through a joint board, in all matters affecting the general interest. So far as the policy of the union, minimum scale of wages, maximum number of working hours, general strikes and other questions pertaining to the entire industry are concerned—these matters should remain, as at present, in the hands of the joint boards and the International Union.

New York—a Knotty Problem

The most difficult part of the problem will naturally confront us in New York. In referring to joint boards, the New York Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt-makers at once occurs to the mind. This Joint Board is now, too, a large organization. At present it consists of ten locals and every local is represented by five delegates. Under a plan of smaller locals it would consist of about 100 locals, each local represented by one delegate. Notwithstanding an increased number of delegates, its work would still be conducted on the same principle as at present. The main thing is that the locals shall be properly constituted; then its problems will be less grave and complicated. If the bricks and mortar and girders and other material of a structure are of the best kind, and jerry-building is guarded against, the building must naturally be strong and solid. Let the locals consist of true and devoted members, permeated with the spirit of genuine labor solidarity, and the joint board would reflect this condition. Then its task will be performed with less anxiety and worry than at present.

How It Would Apply to Local 25

The change would be felt mostly in the *government of the local*. Take, for example, Local No. 25. Today its executive board is composed of thirty members, besides officers. Thus the government over its 25,000 members is in the hands of some fifty persons. From time to time this government consults with the 600 or so shop stewards. From time to time a branch meeting is called and is attended by the fifty board members and office holders, a certain number of shop stewards and a small number of interested members, especially those who are by nature disposed to be critical of and questioning the policy of the "government." In Local No. 25 it is understood that if the mass of the membership could only thoroughly realize three essentials—regular payment of dues; lodging complaints for cause and joining in strikes whenever called—it would be an ideal membership. At present only ten or fifteen per cent. of the membership record their votes at the local elections.

But under the new plan there would be fifty locals in the waist and dress trade of New York, each local having a chairman, vice-chairman, financial secretary, recording secretary, three trustees, two auditors, an inner guard and an executive board of nine members. Thus the government of every local would consist of nineteen members. Then there would be a joint board of all the locals in the trade and a number of business agents.

So that, instead of the fifty members now governing Local No. 25, the government over the 25,000 organized waist and dressmakers would be in the hands of about 1,000 members for a period of six months. In a small organization a semi-annual election is an easy and simple matter and need not be attended by noisy agitation, confusion or disorder of any kind. Thus the organized waist and dressmakers would enjoy a larger measure of genuine democracy, their local life would be more sociable and every member would be more interested in her local; yet the waist and dress trade would by no means be scattered into fifty fractions. Through its joint board attending to all complaints, trade disputes, shop matters and strikes, its membership

would be more solidly united than at present.

Proper Use of Clearance Cards

It is self-evident that a presser, for example, would be ineligible as a member of an operator's local or a finisher of a presser's local. In this connection no change is needed in the constitution. If a presser should be compelled by circumstances to transfer his membership from one presser's local to another, he should without difficulty be released from the one and admitted into the other. Clearance or transfer cards should only apply where a member goes from one city to another, or when a skirtmaker takes work at waists and dresses, or when a ladies' tailor goes to work in a cloak shop, and in similar cases.

There need be no change in the present shop organization and system of shop meetings, and if, as it is to be hoped, week work and a minimum wage is going to be introduced in the near future, the system of small locals would make for a bond of unity between them. There is no reason why there should be any desire for separateness. As regards the trade, wages, hours of labor and organizing work throughout the country, there is every reason for closer unity and greater solidarity than at the present time. The membership would then feel as members of a great international union and not as members of a big local, which, under certain circumstances, might feel tempted to defy the will of the entire organization.

In the next article we shall consider certain objections against the proposition of smaller locals. All the objections are based on the fear of someone losing personal influence. One very important result of this reorganization is bound to be an increase in the number and personnel of the local government. Today a small number of officers have considerable power. In smaller locals a larger number of members would share in this power. We have touched the very spot where genuine democracy in our locals is a signal failure. A union founded on democratic principles should have leaders and executives. But when the bulk of the membership holds aloof from the executive control the leaders tend to become autocrats.

Progress of The Kimono and House Dress Workers

By FANNIA M. COHN

A group of members of the Wrapper and House Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 41, assembled in the office of their union on a Saturday evening and celebrated the first anniversary of the existence of their Educational Club.

It was a very impressive scene to view the group of young women and young men, members of the club, sitting around a table covered with a white cloth on which was a varied assortment of food. One could not escape noticing the shining faces of the assembled, their eyes directed with pride to a case in the library containing hundreds of good books.

From this library the entire membership can draw books and keep them for two weeks free of charge. In addition to this the members of the club assemble once a week and spend the evening for self-culture. The two hours are spent either in discussing social, economic, industrial or political questions from different points of view, or one of the members reads a chapter from a book, such as Spencer's "Education," and afterwards it is discussed by the members.

What strikes one most is that the activities of this Educational Club are not directed from above. The club is not only organized, but also managed by these young women and young men. Needless to say that such kind of activities develop the workers mentally and broaden their views. They strengthen their character, develop initiative and ultimately inspire them for further activities in the interest of the labor movement.

The Story of Local No. 41

While watching the happy faces of the members of the Educational Club of Local 41, the whole history of this local since 1909 came to my mind—how a group of girls working on wrappers somewhere in a basement in Brownsville assembled in a room and began to discuss conditions of this trade. The earnings were going down, the treatment by their employers was beyond endurance,

and an idea came to their mind that it would be a mighty good thing to organize the workers into a union, which once or several times had existed before.

The girls, inspired with the idea, began a campaign. In August, 1910, during the historic Cloakmakers' strike, they issued a leaflet calling the wrappermakers out on general strike, and were successful in getting out the workers of Brownsville and Williamsburg. I remember how in the midst of the strike, the then General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union ordered the executive board of the local to send a committee to answer charges for calling a general strike without the knowledge of the International officers, especially while the Cloakmakers' strike was in progress. The committee succeeded in convincing the general officers that the strike was confined to the contractors of Brownsville and Williamsburg only. We carried on the strike single handed and won. The victory, of course, meant only the beginning of the formation of the present organization.

The first victory brought the wrappermakers an increase in their earnings from 15 to 20 per cent. and a reduction in the working hours from sixty or more to fifty-four and in many instances the abolition of fines and paying for thread and needles.

The Strikes of 1913 and 1916

But a real strong union was not organized till February 12, 1913. After a six weeks' strike of all the workers of the trade in Greater New York, the manufacturers' association, formed during the strike, was compelled to sign an agreement with the union, which provided for a grievance board, composed of an equal number of manufacturers and employees, and in case of disagreement every case was subject to review by a board of arbitration. This was considered a great victory because the manufacturers who formed the association had never recognized a union in the trade



Members of Educational Club of Local No. 41

and had bitterly opposed any movement among their workers for organization. The important gains were the shortening of the hours to fifty; increasing the earnings from 10 to 20 per cent., and placing upon the association the responsibility for their contractors. Until then the wrappermakers employed by the contractors had never been certain of their pay, and it had often happened that such employers had disappeared with two or three weeks' wages.

The International Union then conducted strikes in several industries employing mostly girl workers, and the wrappermakers were the first to be called out. Soon they were followed by the waistmakers of Local No. 25, white goods workers of Local No. 62, and children's dressmakers of Local No. 50. The uprising of these girls called public attention to their appalling conditions and interested such persons as ex-President Roosevelt and others. People learned that in this trade there still existed the *fine* system, and in many cases the workers had to pay for needles.

Since then wrappers have given place to house dresses. The new garment, the house dress, began in a short time to dominate the market, and simultaneously the wrapper workers also changed. The men more and more deserted the trade and the women workers had a chance to become more skilled. This change in the trade and the fact that the higher class of house dress resembles a dress, brought new manufacturers and contractors into the field.

The result of all this was that the workers in this trade underwent another general strike in February, 1916. President Schlesinger of the International succeeded in bringing the employers to arbitration through the then Council of Conciliation of which Dr. Felix Adler was chairman. As the result of that arbitration the house dressmakers won a working week of forty-nine hours and a substantial increase. The agreement also provided for a board of arbitration and made the manufacturers responsible for the contractors.

This Year's Increase Without a Strike

This year Local No. 41 has secured another increase in wages, but this was due to their success in building up a

strong union that is now feared and respected. Before the agreement expired, March, 1918, the employers realizing that the local was in good condition and that the members had learned the value of organization and therefore would be ready to stand by the union till the last, they were wise enough to avoid a fight by agreeing to give the workers a \$2.00 increase. They also agreed to register the contractors with the union. This gives the union a chance to enforce union conditions in the outside shops. A compromise was reached in regard to the demand for a forty-eight hour week to the effect that the decision of the Arbitration Board in the waist and dressmakers' industry shall be followed.

The Fruit of Tireless Work

This is a very brief review of the struggles and gains of a group of workers employed in a trade that was formerly the most exploited. I remember the time when the wrappermakers were ashamed of their trade. It is natural that workers employed under such conditions as the wrappermakers before 1910, should not boast of their occupation.

There is one very important thing that the members of Local No. 41 must do that will tend to make the union strong and its position safe, and this is, to create a defence fund. For this an educational campaign should be started at once among the active members of the organization, to enlighten the members on the necessity for such a fund.

The older members of the organization, men and women, who have devoted the best years of their life to building up this local and who loyally took care of it in the first years of its existence, who many a time gave away their last few dollars that made it possible to keep up the office—I feel that the best compensation for these members is the success of the local. The history and struggles of this local will serve as an inspiration for the younger members of the union.

If these old members could have seen the bright faces at the banquet table they would have been amply rewarded. All this is the fruit of tireless work since 1910.

One cannot but feel delighted with the standing of these workers in the progressive labor movement.

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

By A. R.

LABOR STANDARDS AS PRESCRIBED BY THE GOVERNMENT

Millions of workers are now engaged on all sorts of work for the government, and it is interesting to know how the government desires that the workers shall be treated. A correct idea of this may be gathered from a perusal of General Order No. 13, issued by the Chief of Ordnance for arsenal commanders and manufacturers. The order has been hailed in labor circles as the most enlightened ever issued by a government in time of war. Briefly it is to this effect:

The order is prefaced by the statement that "vigilance is demanded of all those associated with industry, lest the safeguards with which the people of this country have sought to protect labor should be unwisely and unnecessarily broken down. . . . These safeguards are the mechanisms of efficiency. Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production," and the conditions ordered are, in substance, as follows:

Daily Hours—The day's work should not exceed the customary hours in the particular establishment or the standard already attained in the industry and in the community. It should certainly not be longer than ten hours for an adult workman.

The drift in the industrial world is toward an eight-hour day as an efficiency measure. . . .

Overtime—The theory under which we pay "time and a half" for overtime is a tacit recognition that it is usually unnecessary and always undesirable to have overtime. The excess payment is a penalty and intended to act as a deterrent. There is no industrial abuse which needs closer watching in times of war. . . .

The working period on Saturday should not exceed five hours. . . . Any additional hours, if essential, should be regarded as overtime and paid for on that basis.

Holidays—The observance of national and local holidays will give opportunity for rest and relaxation which tend to make production more satisfactory.

One day of rest in seven should be a universal and invariable rule.

Standards in Workrooms

Protection Against Hazards and Provisions for Comfort and Sanitation—Existing legal standards to prevent danger from fire, accident, occupational diseases, or other hazards, and to provide good light, adequate ventilation, sufficient heat, and proper sanitation, should be observed as minimum requirements. . . . Toilets should be sanitary and readily accessible. . . . Temperature conditions should be as nearly normal as possible. . . . If any light is at the level of the worker's eyes, it should be shaded that its rays will not directly strike the eyes.

Wage Standards—Standards already established in the industry and in the locality should not be lowered. The minimum wage rates should be made in proper relation to the cost of living, and in fixing them it should be taken into consideration that the prices of necessities of life have shown great increases. . . .

(Negotiation between employers and employees is urged as a great need.)

Standards of Employment for Women

. . . Efforts should be made to restrict the work of women to eight hours.

Prohibition of Night Work—The employment of women on night shifts should be prevented as a necessary protection, morally and physically.

Rest Periods—No woman should be employed for a longer period than four and a half hours without a break for a meal, and a recess of ten minutes should be allowed in the middle of each working period.

Time for Meals—At least thirty minutes should be allowed for a meal and this time should be lengthened to forty-five minutes or an hour if the working day exceeds eight hours. Meals should not be eaten in the workroom.

Saturday Half-Holiday—The Saturday half-holiday should be considered an absolute essential for women under all conditions.

Seats—For women who sit at their work, seats with backs should be provided unless the occupation renders this impossible. For women who stand at work, seats should be available and their use permitted at regular intervals.

Lifting Weights—No woman should be required to lift repeatedly more than twenty-five pounds in any single load.

Replacement of Men by Women—When it is necessary to employ women in work hitherto done by men, care should be taken

to make sure that the task is adapted to the strength of women. The standards of wages hitherto prevailing for men in the process should not be lowered where women render equivalent service. The hours for women engaged in such processes, of course, should not be longer than those formerly worked by men.

Tenement House Work—No work shall be given out to be done in rooms used for living purposes or in rooms directly connected with living rooms in any dwelling or tenement.

Standards for Employment of Minors

Age—No child under fourteen years of age shall be employed at any work under any conditions.

PROSPECTS OF RAILROAD WORKERS

It is interesting to hear that Secretary McAdoo, Director General of the railroads, has appointed W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, as Director of Labor in the new railroad administration. In well informed circles it is believed that this appointment is a real step in the direction of democratic control over the industries over which the government is extending its control.

Mr. Carter has no executive power, but he has charge of all railroad labor questions, acting in an advisory capacity to Mr. McAdoo. But his appointment is considered a gain for all the organized workers, including the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Under the old railroad administration the managers were hostile to the unions and their organizing work, and bitter strikes occurred from time to time. Now, the Federation unions have reached an understanding with Secretary McAdoo, agreeing to suspend for the time of the war certain union rules as to overtime and apprentices or non-union workers. In return for this they will have every opportunity to bring the unorganized into line.

The Railroad Wage Commission, appointed some time ago, has just presented its report. It recommends an increase in wages to some two million railroad workers amounting in the aggregate to \$3,500,000.

The railroad unions now have a splendid opportunity to place their organizations on a strong foundation both as regards numbers and reasonable control over their conditions of labor.

SHALL TOM MOONEY DIE THOUGH INNOCENT?

When a person commits a crime he must pay the penalty of the law. If, however, his enemies have framed him up and the perjury of bought witnesses is clearly proven—what then?

Tom Mooney's trial in San Francisco was such a frame-up. The perjury of the witnesses was so clearly on the surface that Judge Griffin refused to pronounce sentence, even though the jury found Mooney guilty, of course, on the perjured evidence.

It is a disgraceful scandal and a slur on the public opinion of that city and state, all the more so because Mooney is admitted to be the victim of a conspiracy. So are his colleagues, W. K. Billings, Israel Weinberg and Mrs. Mooney. Edward Nolan, one of the group, was acquitted.

Mr. Bourke Cockran, the principal counsel for the Mooney defense, speaking at a meeting in New York last month, said:

"What is proposed, is the execution of an innocent man—not through mistake resting upon doubtful testimony, but in the light of clear admissions by competent authority that the testimony on which he was convicted is perjury and the result of a conspiracy. The execution of a man under these conditions would be a calamity graver than if at this moment shot and shell were rained from the enemy's ships on this and every other city of the Atlantic seaboard.

"I say to you, and I think I speak the language of moderation, that, while there have been miscarriages of justice under every political system, while there have been perversions of justice, while innocent men have been condemned not merely through mistake, but through conspiracy, nevertheless I state deliberately that this conviction of Thomas Mooney is the most glaring perversion of justice in the whole history of jurisprudence in America or in England or in any other country in the world.

"Every other execution or conviction has been attended at least by circumstances which justified the pretense that the Judges were executing the law. Here the constituted authorities themselves agree in declaring that a conviction involving the life of a human being has been brought about by perjury, and the Supreme Court of the State declares that it can only examine the record of what occurred at the trial; that it has no power to consider subsequent disclosures, which show that that record is a record of perjury and crime.

"According to their decisions, the court, created to defend the lives and liberties of

the people, announce themselves powerless to meet and overthrow a conspiracy between a few wretches of the underworld and some leaders, so-called, of the upper world.

"Judge Griffin is a courageous and a bold jurist," said Mr. Cockran. "I believe that he has the power to prevent this infamous wrong from being accomplished. He has the power to prevent the murder of an innocent man by perjury which he recognizes to have been committed in his courtroom. He has control over the record of this trial, and he may, in my opinion, purify it of the perjury, which he knows to be the only testimony against Mooney. Judge Griffin has indicated that he has some doubt as to this power, but I believe that his investigation will convince him that he possesses it and that he will grant the motion when it is made."

It is believed in some circles that Mooney's life can be saved only by Governor Stephens of California granting a pardon. In this connection it is interesting to note that Mooney himself demands justice—a new trial—rather than a pardon.

TWO INTERNATIONAL UNIONS JOIN FORCES

Seattle, Wash.—Last month two international unions held a joint convention at the Seattle Labor Temple and brought about an amalgamation. They were the International Shingle Weavers and the International Timber Workers, and the united organization will be known as the International Union of Timber Workers.

Last fall these workers in the lumber camps and mills lost a strike for the eight hour day and this has stimulated an agitation for the amalgamation just brought about.

In the program adopted at the convention the new organization pledges support to the national government in this time of stress. It urges acceptance by the employers of the principle of collective bargaining. It insists that wages should be commensurate with the increasing cost of living. It declares its belief in the principle of the eight hour day. It refuses to surrender the right to quit work to enforce legitimate demands, though believing that the strike should be a last resort, after all other means of securing justice have been exhausted. It declares its rigid adherence to all agreements governing industrial conditions and declares its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT ISOLATED

In all thoughtful labor circles, in America, as well as in Europe, there was much surprise and disappointment at the fact that President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor had, in the name of the American labor movement, isolated our movement from the advanced labor movement of Europe. Recently a conference of Socialist and labor representatives of the Allied countries was held in London. Every allied country was represented at the conference. The American labor movement, however, had made itself conspicuous by its absence.

President Gompers has advanced the explanation that he had received the invitation too late. Here follows a statement from the "Jewish Times," published in London. Referring to the conference, the "Jewish Daily Times" says:

A contributory factor, in the pessimistic atmosphere was the letter of Mr. Gompers, stating in the name of the American workers that they would not be represented at the conference because now was not the time to talk of peace. The pro-war press added that Mr. Gompers had written to say that the conference was under German influence. The friends of the conference felt that this was a blow given in the back, and it was doubted whether the conference would recover from the blow.

Thus the conference had to work under very unfavorable conditions. But to our joy it surmounted all difficulties. Gradually all the delegates assembled in the conference hall and immediately repudiated the assertions made in the name of Mr. Gompers. Vandervelde of Belgium very aptly pointed out in a splendid speech delivered at the conference that one should not only take into account the acts of the Bolsheviks, who had discredited International Socialism, but one should also take into account the great thing achieved by the Russian revolution for Internationalism and Socialism at its grandiose beginning. . . . Faith, confidence and hope in the conference continued to mount, and the conclusion was grandiose. A peace program was issued in the name of the Socialists and working classes of all Allied countries, and the program is one that may really serve as a basis for a general democratic peace.

The well-known memorandum of the British Labor Party served as a basis for working out the general democratic peace program, and nearly all the points of that memorandum were adopted. Only in several instances slight changes were made.

WOMEN DO HEAVY RAILROAD WORK

At a meeting of Director General of Railroads McAdoo's wage commission, Miss Pauline Goldmark, sister-in-law of United States Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, gave figures to show that women are being employed in increasing numbers to do heavy railroad work.

"One railroad employs 400 on one division and another has a total of 1,517 women workers," she said.

Miss Goldmark declared women were lifting weights of as much as fifty pounds as drill press operators.

She told of investigating conditions at a factory in Zanesville, O., where many women are employed.

"The majority of women at this point," she said, "are engaged at hard labor, such as loading scrap iron, sorting scrap iron, wheeling iron castings in wheelbarrow, etc. The women are loading scrap and sorting work out in the yards, with no protection from the intense rays of the sun or from the weather. These women wear over-alls and large-brim hats. They hand the iron up from the ground to others in the cars, who pile it. The hours are nine a day and fifty-four a week, with one-half hour for lunch. Wages are twenty cents an hour and \$1.50 is deducted each month for relief purposes. Men are paid twenty-one cents an hour for the same kind of work."

LET GIRLS MAKE HOMES

The feminine war helper, who dons a nobby uniform to drive a motor truck, was frowned upon by the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Association in annual convention in Atlantic City. A report on this subject said:

"The preparing of women to be automobile drivers, truck chauffeurs and for other masculine lines of work, is not half so important as preparing for wholesome, economic home making and wise and loving child training." The committee declared its position on this question is not a hobby, and asked:

"Where can the second line of defense better be established than in wisely directed homes?"

THIRD CAMPAIGN FOR LIBERTY LOAN

STARTS THROUGHOUT NATION ON APRIL SIXTH

Secretary McAdoo Names Anniversary of First Year of Entrance into War as Date for Opening the Next Big Drive

(By W. G. McAdoo)

The campaign for the third Liberty Loan will be opened on the 6th day of April, 1918, the first anniversary of the declaration of a state of war between the United States and Germany.

The amount, terms and conditions of the loan have not yet been decided because these features are dependent upon further legislation. I expect to ask Congress at an early date to grant the necessary additional authority.

Of course, the opening date of the campaign is somewhat dependent upon the new legislation, but it is hoped and believed that the matter can be considered and determined in ample time to begin the campaign on the date suggested. April 6 will forever be a consecrated day in American history and it seems peculiarly appropriate that the opening the second year of our participation in this war should be celebrated with a nation-wide drive for another Liberty Loan. The campaign should begin with great demonstrations of patriotism in every city, town and hamlet in the country that will truly express the spirit of aroused America. On this date every American should pledge anew to his government the full measure of his resources and resolve to make every required sacrifice in the same fervent spirit that impels our gallant sons in the trenches of France and on the waters of the Atlantic to shed their blood in America's sacred cause. To carry forward America's essential part in this war for righteousness and justice every man and woman in the country must lend their available means to the government, and I know of no more fitting beginning of the second year of the war.

The campaign, in all probability, will last three or four weeks and announcement of the opening date is made at this time in accordance with my promise to make pub-

lic all matters connected with the loan as soon as determined, in order that ample time may be given every community to prepare for the event. I earnestly hope that parades and patriotic meetings will be held in all parts of the country. The treasury department will endeavor to make the observance of the anniversary of the declaration of war as memorable as was the patriotic observance during the second Liberty Loan campaign of Liberty Day on the 24th of October, 1917.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA

For their respective first three months the American War-Savings Campaign is running ahead of the English campaign. America is pouring into the Treasury at the rate of about \$2,000,000 a day—over \$75,000,000 up to date.

The direct comparison is:

ENGLAND	
First month	\$ 5,172,000
Second month	2,719,000
Third month	3,402,000

Total\$11,293,000

AMERICA

First month	\$10,236,451
Second month	24,559,722
Third month	41,148,244

Total\$75,944,417

The \$75,944,417 of spending already put at the service of the Government by the buyers of War-Savings Securities has transferred from millions of patriotic, saving citizens to the National Treasury command of the labor and materials to build a fleet of about one hundred 5,000-ton ships.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES OF NEW YORK REVERSES ITS POLICY

At its meeting held March 12 the United Hebrew Trades approved the recommendation of its executive board, to authorize its secretary, Max Pine, to co-operate with the Federal Liberty Bond Committee in the campaign for the third issue of Liberty bonds.

This is practically a reversal of its previous pacifist policy. Recent events in Russia and the sympathetic utterances of President Wilson are largely responsible for this change of heart. All freedom-loving people feel that they must range themselves on the side of the nations who are fighting for democracy and against autocracy.

A GOOD CREED

You can't make a real success without making real enemies.

You can't hold a strong position without strong opposition.

You can't seem right to any if you don't seem wrong to many.

A useful life can't be entirely peaceful and carefree.

You must do your duty as you see it.

Every earnest man in every generation has paid the price of individuality.

You can't dodge.

The greater you are, the greater the penalty of your progress. The farther you go, the wider your range, the more you increase the points of contact with which you must reckon, and therefore you multiply your battles against misconception and slander and envy and malice.

You can't avoid or evade your allotted destiny—you can only hold down your share of troubles by holding back.

In every sphere men gibe and sneer—even the peace of the ditch digger is threatened by the unemployed laborer who covets his job.

So long as you aspire, others will conspire—so long as you try, others will vie.

* You'll have hostility to face at every place and at every pace.

Go straight ahead to your goal.

So long as your conscience isn't ashamed to acknowledge you as a friend, don't you give a rap for your enemies.—Ex.

WOMEN WAR WORKERS

There are approximately 1,266,061 women in the United States engaged in industrial work which is either directly or indirectly necessary to carry on the war, according to an estimate based on surveys made in fifteen states for the National League of Women's Service by Miss Marie L. Obenauer, with the sanction and assistance of the Department of Labor. There were approximately 3,500 women engaged in munition factories in 1910; the number is now 100,000, according to Miss Obenauer, who states that this is a conservative estimate. She includes aeroplanes when speaking of munition factories. Most of the women, it is stated, are engaged in weaving, sewing and preserving food,

Local News and Events

(In this department, which is a regular feature of this journal every month, local life and movement is being reported for the information of our members and readers,)

Compiled by M. D. DANISH

LADIES' & MISSES' CLOAK OPERATORS UNION, LOCAL NO. 1

Secretary Wm. Bloom writes:

"The cloak trade in New York is extremely busy. In fact, we are having an exceptional season and all the cloakmakers say that we have not had a spring season like this in many years, and that it exceeds by far the past fall season. Many people ask what the cause for this swing of business from the fall season to the spring, which has been manifest for the last several years, means. In explanation the following facts are offered: There seems to be little difference during the last few years between the quality and weight of the spring and fall clothes in general. As a matter of fact, you will find that manufacturers even use fur trimmings on spring clothes, and women's garments and styles conform even less to seasonal changes than men's clothes. In other words, the light weight garment is getting into the market very strongly as a selling commodity and is taking the place of the heavy winter garment. Again, during the last few years the use of furs has become very prevalent. Of course, the rich use the real, genuine furs and the poor use the imitation astrachan garments which are usually made in the fur shops. This, to some extent, affects the fall season in the cloak trade. But for spring and summer women use nothing but light cloaks and suits, and the demand for these is much greater than for the winter cloak, which accounts for the expansion of the spring trade.

"As regards our organization, I can say that it is really in a blooming condition. We already have over eight thousand members in good standing, and as there are altogether not more than ninety-five hundred or ten thousand cloak operators in New York City, of whom about 1,000 are still working on military garments and a

number were transferred to Local No. 17, you can judge for yourself that we control 100 per cent. of the operators in the cloak shops in New York.

"Dues paying is going on on an unprecedented scale. Early in March, by a decision of our Executive Board, dues were raised to 25 cents a week, and time was given for the membership to pay up arrears until the last week in March. That partly explains the tremendous rush at the dues windows of our local. This raise in dues met with very few objections among the rank and file of our union. First of all, all the other locals of the International already raised their dues a considerable time ago, among them'also Local No. 17, and it is daily becoming clearer to our members that a local union which has as many obligations to fulfill as our organization, can not exist on a 16 cents per week rate. In addition to that, the very fact that the price of all commodities has been going up for the last few years has reconciled our membership to the necessity of raising the dues.

"The referendum vote on week work is going on briskly in all the Joint Board offices. It must be explained that only piece workers are participating in this referendum, so a clear show of opinion from these men is wanted on this question. The prevalent opinion, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is for week work, in spite of the good season in the trade. The only argument that is being advanced against week work is the fear that it may lower the earnings. On the other hand, it is argued that only a small fraction of operators make big wages in a good season, and even these are often paid in advance for work that they finish up after the season on the cut-off tickets. This is true particularly of finishers.

"The operators are apparently making up their minds to get rid of settling prices.

Even if some of them should, as is maintained, earn less, they want no more bartering and bargaining for each and every garment, a system which causes loss of time and energy, and which creates bitterness and strained relations. Years ago, before the union was established, the employers settled prices on garments in accordance with their own sweet will, and made the workers earn their living by long, drawn-out overtime work. Later, when the union came and the principle of collective bargaining was introduced, the workers began to have a say in the settlement of prices, but this brought with it a system of eternal bartering in price fixing. The third stage must be week work, which will give the workers a more settled and definite way of earning a living in our trade.

* * *

"The handful of discredited disrupters has now lost every vestige of influence on the men, and is hardly heard from. Like a bad dream, they have passed out of the minds of the operators, and it is sometimes hard to believe that anything like that which took place in the Cloak Operators' Union last year really existed and held sway over the interests of our men. The officers of the Joint Board who have worked hard and faithfully to help bring the big organization movement to a successful conclusion must be given full credit for their work. Today practically all the shops have been reorganized and are well controlled.

"There are cheerful prospects in the trade that this season will last way into May."

BALTIMORE CLOAKMAKERS, LOCAL NO. 4

Organizer Anna Neary writes:

"We have been busy during the last few weeks in a little town, Cumberland, Md., with organizing work, in which we had the assistance of the local Women's Trade Union League. The Baltimore Dry Goods House, one of the biggest concerns in the City, opened up a cloak shop in that town, and, of course, its prime intention was to beat the union and to operate on a non-union basis. We, however, succeeded in going after and getting the girls (most of the workers in that shop are women), to join the union and we organized them into a local of their own. We received a charter from the International for these cloakmak-

ers, and they are now Local No. 38. The shop is increasing in numbers and we expect to exert good control over it, with the help of the Baltimore Joint Board.

"In Baltimore proper, the organizing work is going on apace. The cutters' local is coming back to life and we have no doubt that Local No. 72 will be a stronger factor in the future than it has been until now.

"The Joint Board of Baltimore has taken out a charter from the International and is now a recognized element in the local trade union life."

BOSTON CLOAKMAKERS, LOCALS NOS. 12, 24, 56 AND 73.

Manager H. Hurwitz writes:

"Conditions are pretty bright in Boston. There is plenty of work in the shops, and all the cloakmakers in Boston are busy. The news that the members of the International voted for Boston as the Convention City for 1918 brought a lot of enthusiasm into our ranks. The Joint Board organized a special committee on convention arrangements from all the six Boston locals of the International, which committee had its first meeting on Sunday, March 3rd, with General Secretary-Treasurer Baroff and Vice-Presidents Halpern and Wander. All the necessary sub-committees were elected and have already started work.

"The Boston locals are of the opinion that they can make this assembly of the 250 delegates to the convention the most successful and most interesting in the history of the International Union. A number of enterprises will be undertaken and put through during these two convention weeks, among which we expect to have a great mass meeting, a banquet, a sight-seeing trip and probably a theatre party. We expect another visit from the Arrangements Committee of the International in the near future, to complete the plans that we have laid. The convention will take place in the big hall of the Musicians' Union, and it is expected that the surrounding neighborhood and also the sections where the Boston Jewish workers live will be decorated in honor of this big gathering. It is the ambition of the Arrangements Committee to see that during the week of the 20th of May a welcome flag is displayed from the house of every Jew-

ish worker in the city, as a token of the enthusiasm of the working class of Boston for the convention of our International Union.

"A special meeting of the cloak finishers will take place on Monday, March 18th, at 724 Washington Street. At this meeting the special interests of the finishers in the cloak shops will be taken up for discussion. The meeting will be addressed by Vice-President Halpern, who is the manager of the New York Cloak Finishers' Union, Local No. 9."

CLEVELAND CLOAKMAKERS, LOCAL NO. 26

Vice-President Perlstein writes:—

"When we speak of Cleveland, it is about time that we had made up our minds that as long as there will be no official recognition of the union by the local manufacturers, the organization will have no stability. It may come to life at the beginning of each season, but it is sure to fall apart before the season is over.

In order to gain the recognition of the union in Cleveland a general strike is absolutely necessary. Some time ago the local cloakmakers again began to hope for a strike of such a calibre and some preparations in that direction were begun. The uncertain conditions in the trade, however, prevented the International from undertaking such a step at that time, and the more active local men thereupon decided to wait patiently until the next fall season, and to keep the trade meanwhile in a state of expectancy. As the convention is near at hand, the local people are expecting the convention to pass upon this matter definitely, one way or another.

"To show you how the local manufacturers ignore our union, I will cite just one fact. When, through the efforts of President Schlesinger, Fuel Administrator H. A. Garfield rescinded the Monday closing order so far as it affected the ladies' garment factories, the Cleveland manufacturers refused to take advantage of this opportunity simply because it came through the efforts of the International Union. You may imagine how difficult it is to keep up an organization under such opposition and animosity.

"The Cleveland local is going to call a conference of the Middle Western locals of the International in order to solidify their

opinion for favorable action at the convention for a general strike in Cleveland. In order to get ready for the coming fall season the local people have begun in earnest to organize the shop of Landesman & Hirschheimer, one of the biggest in Cleveland, employing largely Jewish workers; a shop where heretofore the workers, while antagonistic toward the union, were profiting at its expense. They utilized every move of the union to organize them to their own advantage, and they exacted each time some concessions from the employers as a result thereof. Just now a strike has been declared against this shop, and the factory is being picketed. Sooner or later the workers in that shop will come to their senses, and, together with the other Cleveland cloakmakers, will do something practicable for the general improvement of the local trade."

CINCINNATI CLOAKMAKERS, LOCALS NO. 30, NO. 63 AND NO. 98

Vice-President Perlstein writes:

"The season in the local cloak trade is not bad, particularly in the larger shops where there is plenty of work, and the workers make decent wages. In the smaller shops things are not quite so good, and in some instances the cloakmakers employed there had to stop for a day or two during the last few weeks, as their employers could not get sufficient goods to fill their orders.

"The organization in general is in very good condition; the membership is in good standing. They attend the meetings of the local and of their shops unusually well. We have a rule here that members (men) must attend no less than one meeting a month, and members (women) must attend no less than one meeting a month, under penalty of fine. We find that this works well, and the attendance at the meetings is excellent. The locals are getting ready for the next season to begin an organization campaign in the few shops that were not organized during the general strike.

"We have also been busy here collecting money for the War Sufferers. We worked the entire day on Saturday, the 23rd of February, and devoted the earnings of that afternoon to the war sufferers. The success of this undertaking, was unusual, as it was carried out faithfully even in those

shops where there was little work and where the workers could not very well afford to contribute. Indeed, the spirit of fraternity of the local cloakmakers in this instance proved quite admirable. The girls of the shop of Bishof, Stern & Stein have done particularly well in this respect, and their action deserves mention. The firm of Bishof, Stern & Stein likewise contributed, as the list that I am submitting herewith shows:

"Employees of Bishof, Stern & Stein		\$ 452.90
Firm of Bishof, Stern & Stein.....		250.00
Mr. Stern of Bishof, Stern & Stein		100.00
Employees of American Cloak Co.		100.00
Employees of Bloom & Moskowitz		32.50
Employees of Pioneer Raincoat Co.		12.16
Employees of Lauterbach Cloak Co.		19.50
Employees of Reiser Cloak Co.....		51.72
Employees of Perfection Cloak Co.		52.25
Employees of Unger Cloak Co....		19.74
Employees of Rosenthal, Zwilling-er & Co.....		23.62
Firm of Rosenthal, Zwilling & Co.		12.00
Employees of Merit Cloak Co.....		43.00
Employees Standard Cloak Co.....		20.00
A Presser of Universal Cloak Co.		2.00
Employees of Superior Cloak Co.		18.85
Employees of Textile Cloak Co....		51.70
Employees of Nussbaum Co.....		38.50
A Presser of Ohio Skirt Co.....		4.00
Employees of Epstein Cloak Co....		43.33
Firm of Epstein Cloak Co.....		11.67
Designer Nathanson of Epstein Cloak Co.		5.00
		<hr/>
		\$1,364.44

TOLEDO CLOAKMAKERS, LOCAL NO. 67

Secretary S. Kaplan writes:—

"After all, the old saying 'Where there is life there is hope,' is true. We have had in Toledo during February visitors whom we had so long expected. Since the Cleveland Convention we have been speaking of a meeting of the General Executive Board in Toledo, and it took almost four years to materialize.

"Several weeks before the date set for the meeting, the active members of the local began to get busy with preparations to

receive the General Executive Board of our International, and I believe that we were quite successful in our aim to make things pleasant for them. On Sunday, the 10th of February, we celebrated the eighth anniversary of Local No. 67, and our speakers were President Schlesinger, Secretary-Treasurer Baroff and a number of vice-presidents. As was to be expected, the prestige of the union has materially increased since that time, and now our organization consists of fully 100 per cent. of the local cloakmakers and pressers, in good standing. People who had long standing grievances against the union for years, came back to the organization and we met them with open arms.

"We have no written agreements with the employers, and our relations with them resemble the ancient tactics which the Israelites pursued in their war with Amalek. When Moses held his hands up high, the Israelites prevailed over Amalek, and when Moses let his hands drop, Amalek prevailed. Our members have become convinced that as long as they will keep watch for unity in their ranks and will come regularly to the meetings of their organization, they will have the upper hand, and that no agreement will help them if they stay away from the union.

"President Schlesinger had a conference with one of the chiefs of the firm of Cohen, Friedlander & Martin, Mr. Goldman, who is president of the Western Cloak Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Goldman complained to our president that we were not reasonable and that we demanded too high prices, and in consequence the firm will be compelled to move from Toledo.

"As Brother Friend, president of Local No. 67 and the shop chairman of that shop, was present at the conference, he reported to us that President Schlesinger had defended our position in a masterful way.

"During the week of February 23rd, we had some trouble in one of our shops, the Conde Cloak Company, which involved a re-settlement of prices on some work. After the operators had worked a few weeks on certain garments they began to complain that they could not make a living. They came to the Executive Board and requested us to help them resettle prices on some garments. This demand was granted, and a committee was sent to the firm on that matter. The firm refused to listen to

the committee, and as a result, a stoppage was ordered in the shop. After striking for three days, a committee consisting of Brothers Friend, Fishler and myself, resettled the prices on the work, and raises ranging from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent. on a garment were granted, to the complete satisfaction of the workers in the shop.

"Just recently we taxed ourselves, according to the ability of each man and woman, for the Jewish war sufferers, and we sent a check for \$214.75 to the International Union. While this may seem a very small sum, it must be taken into consideration that Washington's Birthday is not a legal holiday in Toledo, and the money was contributed from our own pockets. Besides, our season is already at an end here.

"In closing I want to say that there are still certain improvements lacking in our local. Our members still pay 15 cents dues, and the more active members in our organization are starting a movement for higher dues in order to cover the immediate necessities of the organization. It is to be hoped that this work will be crowned with good results."

ST. LOUIS CLOAKMAKERS, LOCALS NO. 78 AND NO. 16

Organizer Ben Gilbert writes:—

"Things are quite lively and interesting in the Cloakmakers' Union today. Since our last strike in 1913 most of our members have been under the impression that in order to improve the condition of the cloakmakers and to get the employers to recognize the union, only one method is available,—that is, a general strike. At every one of our meetings we talked of nothing but strike, and it really seemed to us that there was no other way out of the situation. When President Schlesinger visited us in January, he showed us how to improve the condition of the cloakmakers and how to gain the recognition of the union without a general strike. We have followed his advice, and today our union is in a better condition than it has ever been since we began organizing in St. Louis. If we go on along the same lines and if nothing untoward occurs, the organization of the St. Louis cloakmakers on a 100 per cent. basis is a matter of the very near future.

"Just recently we got rid of the S. A. S. factory here in St. Louis. It was a sub-factory and it gave us plenty of trouble most of the time. Our cloakmakers will surely not regret this fact; it will give them a better opportunity to ask for decent prices in the inside shop of the same firm.

"We have decided to levy a tax of \$2.00 on each member in order to increase our treasury, and we are confident that our members will respond to this tax with a will."

MONTREAL CLOAKMAKERS, LO- CALLS NO. 13, NO. 19, NO. 61 AND NO. 102

Brother S. Labensohn, local organizer, writes:—

"In my previous reports I have dwelt in particular on two conditions which prevail in our local trade since the last general strike, i.e., the small prices which the workers get for their labor and the long hours of overtime they are compelled to work in order to eke out an existence at the present high cost of living. The cloakmakers in Montreal seem so deeply interested in their work that they overlook the fact that they are the most exploited men and women in the shops of this city. They have not even noticed the striking difference between their earnings of last year, when they had a strong union, and their earnings of this season when their organization is not complete. Some of them must have figured that they would rather spend the hour or two at the shop and local meeting than in the factory at overtime to enable them to increase their earnings.

"Their illusions were, however, rudely dispelled at their last big meeting when President Schlesinger and Vice-Presidents Metz and Koldofsky addressed them and pointed out to them the crime which they were committing against themselves and their own families by staying away from the union. Even during the busy months of the present season they are earning hardly enough to make a living, let alone saving for the slack time that is to come.

"On Tuesday evening, the 5th of March, we had a meeting of delegates from all the shops. Vice-Presidents Metz and Koldofsky listened to the shop reports, and, almost without exception, the conditions reported were uniformly bad: 75 hours of

work during the week and earnings which did not amount to more than \$30.00.

"A mass meeting of all the workers was held on Wednesday, March 6, and the attendance exceeded all our expectations; Prince Arthur Hall was crowded, and the cloakmakers who came to the meeting were very anxious to hear what our general officers had to tell them. The speeches that President Schlesinger, Vice-President Metz and Koldofsky, and also Brother Alex Cohen who was in Montreal just then and spoke at the meeting, were received with enthusiasm. My impression is that the effect of the speeches went much further than the mere applause, and that our people are beginning to realize that they have learned that it is bad policy to leave matters to the good faith of the employers, and that their only defence is a strong organization.

"We are calling many shops to meetings every evening now and the response is much better than ever before. Shop questions are being discussed with interest and eagerness, and it is to be hoped that after another one or two of such instructive mass meetings we may have in Montreal for the next season a strong union which will be in a position to give the workers better working conditions than they have had during this past season.

TORONTO CLOAKMAKERS, LOCALS NO. 14, NO. 70. & NO. 92

Vice-President Koldofsky writes:

"The biggest occurrence of the last month in the life of the cloakmakers of Toronto was the decision to raise the dues of the members to 30 cents for those who belong to the Sick Benefit Fund, and to 20 cents for the other members. This decision was adopted by an overwhelming majority at a membership meeting on March 17. The question was discussed from every angle. It was shown that the bigger and smaller strikes frequent in the cloak trade entail a large expense and that the 15 cents paid until now were absolutely insufficient to cover the normal expense of the union. Of course, our locals have been used in the past to appeal to the International whenever they were in need of assistance, but it is becoming apparent that it is not the right method to pursue and that we must henceforth rely upon our own financial resources in our struggles. A

union must always have a fair sized treasury to enable it to look into the future without fear of financial stress and embarrassment. This is particularly true of the Cloakmakers' Union where friction with unscrupulous employers is frequent. We are compelled to bargain with our bosses daily on the prices of the work, and we must be ready to assist our members to fight for their existence.

"Otherwise the Cloakmakers' Union of this city is running along in a perfectly normal way. The majority of the shops are unionized and the workers are loyal and devoted. At our last general meeting it was decided to raise a special fund to organize the workers of Eaton's shop, and the proposition is meeting with favor.

"There is enough work in the shops; dues are being paid regularly, and new members are coming in daily. Our union here has accomplished a number of improvements for the workers—chiefly, higher earnings. Of course, we did not get this without conflicts at price settlement.

"The pressers have likewise, in a quiet but systematic way, improved prices for work in the shops. The skirt and dress makers have had more trouble and more earnest fights with some employers. They have, however, gained a considerable increase in weekly earnings for all the workers. In some cloak shops prices are being re-settled even now. This re-settlement of prices, while it is a test of strength between the workers and the employers in which the workers are the victors because of the season, is, in the long run, a lesson for those manufacturers who wanted to utilize the slack time to force the price committees to accept hunger prices.

"Of course, things are still far from being perfect, and more unity must prevail in our ranks to secure improvements in the shops. Take, for instance, the question of overtime: It is a matter of common knowledge that long hours are injurious to the health of the worker. However, the employers drag out the settlement of prices for weeks, even though they already have the orders and materials. This is done to increase the difficulties of the workers and get them to make the work cheaper. The members cannot withstand the temptation of overtime and it remains for the union to fight against it until we can abolish it altogether."

Five Years of Whitegoods Workers' Union

Local No. 62

By F. M. C.

One of the important achievements of our International Union is the growth and development of a strong White Goods Workers' Union, Local No. 62.

Till 1909 there was practically no organization in this trade at all, and not many believed that there ever would be any. "Why," many said, "how in the world could there be any organization in this trade that would count?" This kind of reasoning was based on the fact that not only is this a trade where 99 out of every 100 workers are women, but also on the fact that these "women" are mostly young girls and many of them of school age.

The skeptics lived long enough to learn that a union in the white goods trade could not only exist, but they also had a chance to watch it grow and realize that after five years' existence, it became a factor not only in our International Union, but within the progressive labor movement as a whole.

I shall here attempt to review its short, but interesting life. I shall content myself with a bit of its history that dates back as far as 1912, although a charter had been issued to the white goods workers in 1909.

Two years after the charter was issued, when an organizing campaign was started among the white goods workers, there were only a few dozen members within the organization. The first few shops which the union controlled, were the B. Apthaker, the Puritan and Chelsea. The workers of these shops were the pioneers and they were a great factor in organizing the entire trade. This justifies the contention of many that it is worth all the efforts to get one or two shops organized in a trade for a start. Because this is really the foundation of the future Local Union.

After an intensive organizing campaign had been carried on among the white goods workers, a call for a general strike was issued on February 9, 1913, and those who watched the stream of 8,000 young women pouring from the

factory districts from all over the city into the different meeting halls, and heard their young voices loudly ringing with joy, singing labor songs full of hope and inspiration and cheering the speakers who addressed them, will never forget the scene.

A close observer could have noticed how these young girls from day to day became more and more serious, and how they were transformed into mature women, women who realized how difficult it is to get justice from a society that is built on exploitation.

We remember how the manufacturers of the white goods trade, who are classed among the wealthiest in the Ladies' Garment Industry, refused to meet the representatives of their workers, the same workers who produced for them the wealth they enjoy. The employers refused to discuss the demands for a living wage, for the reduction of working hours that were as long as fifty-eight a week, and the abolition of fines. They refused to parley with the representatives of their workers, whose earnings were as high as \$2.00 and \$3.00 a week and whether it was right and just that these girls should pay for the repair of machines that did not belong to them. They refused to discuss whether it was just that their underpaid workers should pay for straps, needles and in many instances for thread and power.

They refused to hear grievances as to the way these young girls were treated by their foremen. To all these demands of the strikers the manufacturers gave one answer, "There is nothing to arbitrate!" After a five weeks' bitter strike, during which time hundreds of young striking pickets were beaten up by slug-gers, hundreds arrested by police officers and locked up in police cells together with suspicious persons, and many of them, half starved, spent their days either on the picket line or in the meeting halls—after these trying weeks the strikers were just as determined to fight to the bitter end as on the first day of the strike.

When the employers saw this determination they agreed to meet the representatives of the strikers and discuss their demands. As a result of the negotiations, the employers offered to grant some of their demands, but absolutely refused to recognize a union of their workers. The employers could stand the material concessions which they were compelled to grant to their employees, but they would not agree to recognize a shop chairman representing the toilers in their shops. They agreed to part with some of their profits, but they refused to modify their autocratic power. They refused to recognize a union of their workers that would challenge their absolute power over their employees.

I remember the scene when the leaders of the union submitted to the strikers the offers of the employers to grant many of their demands but the recognition of the union. The leaders, in submitting this proposal to the strikers for decision, tested their determination. I shall never forget the scene that followed after the offer of the employers was read in Cooper Union hall that was packed with strikers. It was a scene that filled the heart of every honest and earnest worker with joy and pride.

It was a magnificent spectacle to see these young working women, many of whom were seemingly in their teens, formulating an answer to their powerful employers who hoped to starve them into submission. The answer of these young proletarians was "we shall not return to your workshops until you will recognize our union," and with an iron determination they resolved to carry on the fight indefinitely until victory.

After the employers learned that the effect of their refusal to recognize the union served as a stimulus for the strikers to continue the strike with new vigor and enthusiasm, and that they entered on the sixth week of the strike with more determination to win the fight, they realized that such a fight might ruin them, and therefore decided in the middle of the sixth week to meet again the representatives of the strikers. The result of the meeting was that the union was officially recognized by the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association and the whitegoods workers not only won

material improvements, as the shortening of hours and an increase in their earnings, but also established a minimum wage for learners of \$6.00 a week instead of \$1.50 or \$2.00. But the main thing that they did accomplish was the fact that a union was organized in the trade.

Now, at the fifth anniversary of the existence of the Whitegoods Workers' Union, we find this local in very good condition. The local succeeded in establishing the eight hour work day; it enjoys the respect of every intelligent person and has a standing in the progressive Labor movement.

Every movement of a progressive and radical character in accordance with the Labor ideals is getting the co-operation and assistance of this local. But I wish to remind the Whitegoods Workers that they have neglected to introduce activities of a co-operative and educational character. We should like to see the White Goods Workers' Union initiating such activities that will tend to develop the members, cultivate fellowship and strengthen their character; activities that would inspire them with zeal for the labor movement. There is among the whitegoods workers plenty of energy that could be utilized, if properly directed, for the benefit of the local.

* * *

The White Goods Workers' Union, as all our other locals, was confronted with the problem of having all its members participate in the nomination and election of local officers. Therefore, not being able to induce its members to participate in the formation of its government, they worked out a system by which every shop is represented at nomination.

A conference of all shop chairmen and two workers of each shop is arranged. At the first meeting of the conference, nominations are made for all the officers of the union, including executive members. At the second conference objections are entertained. But in the election the entire membership participates. This system gives all the workers of the shops a chance to be represented.

A few months ago the white goods workers demanded an increase from their

employers. For a time the employers tried to ignore the union's request. Evidently the approaching of the fifth anniversary of the general strike of the white goods workers in 1913 refreshed the minds of the members of the American Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association. February, 1913, was the month when the white goods workers had deserted their shops. So the employers were wise enough to give one dollar increase to all their workers, although the agreement does not provide for it.

One of the achievements of the White Goods Workers' Union is the establishing of the eight hour work day in their trade. The credit of achieving this reform belongs to the officers and leaders of the local union and to the steadfastness and vigorous enthusiasm of a loyal and devoted membership.

White Goods Workers—we expect you at the beginning of the sixth year of your existence to open a new page in the history of your union.

REDUCTION IN WAGES PREDICTED BY BANKERS TO FOLLOW END OF THE WAR

Reductions in wages and widespread unemployment are being predicted as after-the-war certainties by New York bankers and corporation directors.

One reason why Wall Street bankers are urging a campaign for thrift among wage-earners is their desire that the workers shall be financially able to endure the wage reductions on which they are counting the moment the war stops.

To prevent the most disastrous industrial depression in our generation, many farsighted men in the United States and England are insisting that opportunities on the land be opened to the millions of returning soldiers and munition workers who will find themselves out of employment when peace comes.

In Wall Street the coming industrial depression is today being planned for and discussed in the most matter-of-fact way. Says the financial editor of the "New York Evening Post":

"If workers, by investment in government bonds, do not become used to higher living, it will be less difficult to get them to consent to a reduction in wages when that is made inevitable by peace. What is

more important, the workers will have saved something, which will enable them better to bridge over any interval of unemployment which may come during the period of readjustment."

In other words, Wall Street wants the workers to insure themselves out of their present earnings against a bad future. If the wage-earners can be induced to go without "luxuries" (such as meat, eggs, milk, and sugar), during the war, then after the war they may submit to wage reductions, unemployment—anything—without revolting. According to this line of reasoning, every penny saved by the wage-earners during the war will be saved to bankers and employing interests after the war. Every dollar the wage-earner can draw from his savings can be subtracted from the amount of his pay-check.

Organized labor knows there is a better way. It is fast coming to a realization that the only hope for the workers is to remove the underlying causes of low wages and unemployment. And the greatest of these is the privilege of owning land or other natural resources and using the mere fact of ownership as a means of extorting tribute. Never will the world be in such need of the products of labor as after the war. Food, clothing, better and more houses, will be sorely needed. And they will not be forthcoming because the bankers and landowners will find it more profitable to hold the natural resources and the plants which depend upon these resources for raw materials idle and out of use, until they can be sure of big profits over and above the cost of producing.

BIG PROFITS IN STEEL

The annual report of the Republic Iron and Steel Company shows earnings last year equal to \$51.89 a share.

After deducting \$9,878,657 for excess profits, a sum equal to almost 30 per cent. on the common stock, net profits were \$15,857,196.. In 1916 earnings were equal to \$47.95 a share, so that in the two years ended December 31, 1917, the company has earned \$99.83 a share.

Total profits were \$28,769,024 last year compared with \$16,893,212 the year previous. Surplus for the year was \$12,475,737. compared with \$9,881,298 in 1916.

Organized Labor in England

By THOMAS REECE

London, March—The national executive of the British Labor Party, always working in conjunction with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and thus covering the labor movement from the economic as well as from the political standpoint, is now building itself up for big Parliamentary action at a rapid rate. The two committees have just now taken special offices in the central part of London, one portion of these having been formerly occupied by Winston Churchill, the Minister of Munitions, who has cleared out for still more commodious premises elsewhere. Under the wonderful driving power of Arthur Henderson, who is labor's leading politician in this country and who since he broke with the Government and retired from the War Cabinet, has been working ceaselessly for the creation of a great Parliamentary labor party in the House of Commons (to arise after the next general election), the movement is making rapid headway. Henderson and his colleagues of the Labor Party, together with Bowerman and his colleagues of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, are using as the new factor in the situation the passing of the Representation of the People Act.

This new measure has created an entirely new situation. The number of Parliamentary voters in this country will be increased from 8,000,000 to over 16,000,000, and about 6,000,000 of these new voters will be women, who will for the first time in this country at the next election exercise voting power. It is to meet this factor that the Labor Party is developing its entirely new constitution and it wants to use the new political force it expects to obtain in order to tackle powerfully and successfully the great problems of reconstruction after the war, whether these problems be political, social, industrial or economic.

It is declared that no treatment by mere politicians will meet the case, no mere compromise will serve; no desire to get back once more to the old lines of safeguarding selfish bourgeois interests

will satisfy the masses of the people. For the first time in this country "the will of the people" is to be no longer an empty phrase. When the reconstructed Labor Party gets its new political force behind it in the House of Commons it will want to secure, it declares, for the producers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry. The producers are no longer going to be satisfied with the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table; therefore, the Labor Party wants to be able to force the most equitable distribution of the fruits of industry that may be possible on the basis of common ownership of the means of production. The Labor Party's program insists that the nation should take no step backwards from the present policy of controlling the great industries and services.

At the moment, of course, the new constitution is before the various constituent societies of the Labor Party and before the bodies also affiliated with the Trade Union Congress. A few weeks more must pass before the final decision is known as to what form this eventful constitution will take; but what I have forecasted can be reckoned to be pretty generally accurate, although details to meet individual cases may here and there be modified.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labor Party, meeting in joint committee, declare that they have reached decisions of considerable importance affecting the methods of representation of British labor at future international conventions. Separate representation of British Socialist organizations is to be ended. That should mean that in future the Independent Labor Party, which has about 30,000 members; the British Socialist Party, with about 20,000; and the Fabian Society, with 30,000, will no longer themselves send direct representatives to these international Socialist and Labor conventions. They will have to take their chance now of getting their own special delegates through with the general labor delegates.

As, however, Socialists of resources are found at the head of affairs in both important trade unions and in important positions in the national executive of the Labor Party, probably things will not change much in actual character until systems alter.

An important deputation left London for Paris recently. It was composed of Arthur Henderson, M. P., Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.; J. McGurk and Sidney Webb, representing the Labor Party; and C. W. Bowerman, M. P.; J. H. Thomas, M. P.; Will Thorne, M. P., representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, to discuss international labor and war affairs with the French labor organizations.

A very interesting attempt was made by the Bishop of Peterborough, England, to bring up the question of labor and its proper rewards before the upper house of the convocation at Canterbury, which is the ecclesiastical authority governing the Church of England. Usually such meetings of bishops and other church officials concern themselves mainly with questions of church doctrine, discipline and government. Gradually, however, a different and broader note is showing itself. At the above-mentioned meeting the Bishop of Peterborough brought forward the question of industrial reconstruction after the war and moved the following resolution:

That it is incumbent upon the church at the present time to do all in its power to second the efforts now being made in many quarters to inaugurate a truer fellowship, both in spirit and in organization, between all who are engaged in the industries of the nation, and particularly in view of the critical period which will follow the conclusion of peace.

The Bishop quoted from a statement of Arthur Henderson, in the London "Times," to the effect that at no period during the war has the industrial situation been so grave and so pregnant with disastrous possibilities as it is today. Yet, he said, the stress of the situation did not lie only or even mainly in the present emergency. Today seven millions of our wage earners were engaged

in war work. The moment peace was certain every effort would be made to stop this expenditure and gradually to reduce this work to more normal dimensions. This would probably mean, unless the utmost care and foresight were exercised, unemployment on a colossal scale, reduction of wages and lowering of standard rates owing to the glut of labor available; and this at a time of grave discontent with our industrial system. If ever the nation had the need and the right to call to the church for spiritual help, that would be the moment.

There must be a determination in the church as well as in the state frankly to face the difficulties. In the nation and in all classes there were men who could only be described as anti-fellowship men, including the profiteers and reactionary employers, men who showed themselves wholly out of touch with the sentiment and outlook of the workers, and were planning to make a few leisurely repairs in a powder magazine which might at any moment explode and blow them to pieces.

At the present time the church's conscience was fast leaping into life and if the state had its carefully thought-out plans for the coming days of peace so must the church. Their first duty was to think. Let them all bring fresh minds to fresh problems. Such thought would lead at once to a revision of values. It would show up the absurd importance which during the last 100 years had been attached to money. Hitherto the church had been content to acquiesce, not merely in the exaggerated estimate of money, but in the spending of it. Before the war we were rich with an almost nauseating ostentation. Bond street (London's fashionable shopping thoroughfare) reeked with luxurious irrelevancies. Yet we were too poor to build either houses for our townspeople or decent cottages for our laborers. The revision of values would lead to the conception of industry as a national service rather than a private adventure for profit. The nationalization of the railways after the war was to be desired from an economic point of view. He did not deny that the views he had expressed would be strong meat for some. People might shout "Socialism" at the top of their voices.

He had never been a professed socialist, but he had come to believe that we were being urged along some such path as he had indicated, not merely by the spirit of the age, but by the spirit of Him who was the King of the Ages.

So much for the Bishop. The resolution, however, was withdrawn by request, as the Convention was nearing its finish and very few delegates were present. It will be brought up at the next Convocation meeting.—*National Labor Tribune*.

LEGITIMATE BOYCOTTING

A story is extant in which French profiteers got a taste of American methods. The story comes from a seaport "somewhere in France" and is as follows:

"The landlord of one of the principal hotels, finding his rooms all taken by American officers, considered that the law of supply and demand justified in his case a considerable increase in profits. The price of rooms was doubled; meals and drinks went up in proportion.

"Rear Admiral Wilson waited upon the mayor, who regretted the fact, but found himself unable to interfere with the freedom of commerce.

"Admiral Wilson ordered the officers living there to move out and placed sentries in front of the building with orders to keep every American soldier away.

"The argument was decisive. The landlord begged that the interdictions be removed, but thus far Admiral Wilson is obdurate and the hotel is almost empty."

It will be noted that the admiral first had recourse to the law—and got nothing. Then he resorted to the good old American expedient of boycott—and got results.

The boycott time and again has been decried by its victims as unfair, even though it usually is employed against unfairness. Court after Court, in willing subservience to capital, has forbidden its use by labor to enforce just, fair and reasonable conditions, but no court could ever make the workers support an unfair concern. Court mandates do not reach that far.

Admiral Wilson's first thought when the law failed was the boycott. Everyone of fair mind and normal thinking powers will applaud his act, express satisfaction at what

he did and say it was just the right thing to stop profiteering and punish a greedy and unpatriotic landlord.

But in America were the admiral the representative of a labor organization and the landlord the representative of the large employers, it would no doubt be easy to find a judge to declare the boycott unlawful and issue an injunction against it because it interfered with the process of private gain.

But where lies the moral difference in boycotting this profiteering landlord and boycotting, for instance, a theater, a transfer company, a printing establishment which opposes, for its own profit, a better standard of living for the people whom it employs? The landlord tried to take advantage of his customers to swell his profits. In the other cases mentioned advantage is taken of the workers to compel them to work cheaply, thus enhancing unfairly the profits of the employers and keeping down unfairly the wages of the employees.

Where lies the difference between the boycott established by the admiral and a boycott, for instance, against a company which has adopted a policy of favoritism toward a few scabs, in the hope of breaking down the power of collective bargaining, and keeping the manly man in its employ from securing the real wages which every American worker should enjoy?

A boycott is a boycott. But its operation unimpeded of the law depends upon who is exercising it—an American Admiral or a bunch of American workingmen.—Exchange.

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In The Basement

(A Story of Long Hours in a Russian Shop)

From the Yiddish of Jonah Rosenfeld by A. R.

It was Winter, and at two o'clock P.M. night began to grow out of the corners. The frosted, white windows, sunk deep in the ground, became darker and darker.

"I cannot see to do my work," a voice was heard.

"Nor can I."

"Let someone light the lamp."

"Outside there is still full daylight."

"But here it is quite dark."

"Here it is dark all day long."

Thus they threw at each other short phrases. They all talked with irritation, and annoyance. No one wanted to begin the night so early, and even though they did not see to do their work the workers' eyes were as if glued to the blocks of wood in front of them. They worked for a few minutes, took another peep out of the window and again started complaining that it was dark.

Josh sat down on the bench. He would like to see the lamp burning all day. He sat quietly without moving a limb.

"Naphtal," someone called, "how much do you want to go down into the 'hole'? (a cellar below the basement.)"

"Who? I? Not for a hundred roubles."

The "hole" was believed to be the abode of ghosts. But though it had no more light at any time Naphtal, in the daytime, undertook to go down there for no more than 25 roubles.

All sat down on their benches and a long silence ensued.

"How is it outside?" someone broke the silence.

"A hard frost."

"And a wind?"

"Well, what shall we do? He will soon come in and find us sitting on the benches."

"Let someone light the lamp."

"I have still some work to do."

"And I, too."

The lamp was lit.

They worked about an hour or an hour and a half, when Naphtal looked at his midget nickel watch. He continued looking at it for a full minute, as if not

believing his own eyes and growing peevish, finally exclaimed horror-struck:

"The devil, is it going slow?"

"What is the time?" all asked and glanced up surprised.

Naphtal, still looking at the face of his watch, said almost in a whisper: "Only half past four."

"Half past four?" all asked amazed and alarmed.

"Impossible."

"Never upon this earth."

"It must be much later."

The workers imagined that they had been working by lamplight ever so long. Their hearts grew heavy and sad, as if they had just heard the blackest tidings, and their work became burdensome, disgusting. They were all seized with the desire to run away quietly, some where, far, very far.

"Do you know what? Your watch is slow."

"An onion, not a watch," Nyman said petulently.

"Your watch is a liar like yourself," Zeelig burst out.

Naphtal stood downcast, feeling guilty. He looked sadly at his doomed watch which was just declared as being cheap and worthless. He gazed at its fingers and seemed debating with himself whether to slip it back into his pocket or fling it away.

Suddenly Nyman crossed over and, wresting the watch from his grasp, examined it, put it to his ear, listened to its ticking and looked extremely bewildered.

"It's going."

"The watch is going?"

"It stopped?"

Nyman did not answer, as if he had not heard the questions. Again he looked at the face of the watch and listened to it. It seemed to have a faint ticking. He was stirred by an impulse. Perhaps it was losing? Finally he returned the watch in silence, restrained his annoyance, walked back to his bench and lazily resumed his work.

Silence supervened in the basement. A forced but gnawing stillness pervaded all hearts. The feeling was akin to that of an enchanted black snake encircling the heart, sucking its life blood, crushing the very soul, the heart becoming empty and the soul filling with a vague longing.

Josh groaned. This time the younger element did not laugh at the old comical man. It seemed to them that the groans came from a long distance; that they were uttered by thousands of men like him—men who had spent all their vital strength, their whole life.

Josh suddenly discovered that his lathe was running with a heavy motion. He flung a curse at it.

All the workers exchanged glances. It seemed to them that their lathes, too were revolving with heavy motion. These old-fashion wooden machines seemed to be likewise over-wrought.

Silence again ensued and the atmosphere became more oppressive than ever.

They stopped the machines, examined and oiled them and continued working. No one said a word. They were all absorbed in their gloomy thoughts. They forgot each other's existence. All felt lonely, God-forsaken and alone in a cellar, the walls of which frowned at each other and the grimy ceiling, draped in a sort of cobweb frills that were moving to and fro, looked down in sadness on the black dirty floor.

"Naphtal, please look at your watch," begged Josh.

"A quarter past six."

"Only a quarter past six?"

"Can it be not later than a quarter past six?" they all asked with surprise.

Again they resumed their work, each one of them evincing much impatience in his own way. One stamped with his foot, another cut deep furrows into his block of wood in sheer annoyance, yet another uttered curses. When the force of the inner excitement had run its course silence again prevailed and only the sound of the machines was heard in the room.

"Naphtal, what time is it?" someone asked.

"Seven o'clock." Naphtal announced and, putting the watch to his ear, ex-

claimed with joy: "It stopped. The watch has stopped."

"To be sure, it must be more than seven. I said before that the watch was slow," observed Nyman.

"It must be nine o'clock already."

"I should not be surprised."

"It is time to scrap that watch of yours and get a new one."

"Josh, stop your groaning."

"Josh, Josh!" all repeated.

Josh replied with a mild glance, while they all joked at his expense. But Josh took it all good-humoredly. All of them made for the door. No one wanted to remain in the shop the last. Suddenly the door opened and the boss entered, wrapped in a fur coat.

"Where are you off to?"

"What do you mean 'where'? Home."

"Home! Crazy. What is the great occasion?"

He looked at his watch. "You are crazy-heads, all of you. Going home a quarter past seven?"

"A quarter past seven?"

"Have you ever? Going home already!"

Their countenances fell and they returned to the benches with slow steps, as if following a corpse to its grave.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, etc., of the LADIES' GARMENT WORKER, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1918, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Max Danish, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the Ladies' Garment Worker and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 31 Union Square, New York City; Editor, Benj. Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York City; Managing Editor, A. Rosebury, 31 Union Square, New York City; Business Manager, Max Danish, 31 Union Square.

2. That the owners are: International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y. Membership over 100,000. Benj. Schlesinger, President; Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

MAX DANISH, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1918.

(Seal.)

JACK I. KARPf,
Notary Public, N. Y. County.
(My commission expires April 1, 1919.)

Directory of Local Unions

LOCAL UNION

OFFICE ADDRESS

1. New York Cloak Operators.....238 Fourth Ave., New York City
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TWO-FORTY-SIX SUMMER STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN F. TOBIN, President

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OUR INTERNATIONAL TODAY AND FOUR YEARS AGO

Editorials By BENJ. SCHLESINGER

Conventions serve a double purpose: they afford the organization an opportunity to pause and take a glance backward, in order to note the distance covered, and they provide for the leaders of the organization an occasion to consult with the elected representatives of every branch, large or small, of the organization, to discuss matters relating to the future and collectively map out plans for new departures, struggles and achievements.

The present administration of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union feels happy and proud of the work accomplished in the last four years under its management. Baneful was the condition of the organization in 1914. Our International then practically consisted of two local unions—the Cloakmakers and Waistmakers—both in New York, and even in these two unions the situation was uncertain. The Cloakmakers' Union had only just emerged from the “celebrated Hourwich affair,” which had nearly compassed its destruction. The Waist and Dressmakers' Union equally found itself in an insecure position. The old-time estimate of the pessimists that immigrants do not make good union men, that they know how to strike vigorously, but lack the ability of maintaining a stable organization, befogged all minds. Everyone asked himself: Perhaps the estimate is correct after all? Perhaps our people are constituted by nature to be shifty and unsteadfast and all attempts to organize them are bound to fail?

In the cities out of New York we had some locals of cloakmakers and other workers, but they were of small significance. The employers hardly reckoned with them and the workers attached no importance to them.

It was a weak and broken International organization that the present administration took over four years ago and was fully conscious of the fact. The present administration knew the gigantic task confronting it, and therefore plunged into the work with all the energy of which it was capable. The one thing that sustained it was the faith and confidence in the possibility of surmounting the difficulties; the conviction that our trades can be organized and that the International can and will become one of the most powerful labor organizations in America.

Hard, bitter times followed—storms without and troubles within. First the protocol was abrogated and the strike danger faced us for months.

We left nothing undone to avoid a struggle. The most prominent men of the city of New York, even the entire capitalist press, were ranged on our side. The conferences at City Hall stirred the land and the award by the Council of Conciliation was the sensation of the day. But all this proved of little avail. The manufacturers felt convinced in their own minds that we were weak, and sought an opportunity to destroy us. Finally they forced the great general strike upon us.

And this general strike they forced upon us at a time when our energies were strained to the utmost to establish the innocence of our eight arrested brothers, whom the scab-herder Sulkess involved in a false murder charge.

Looking back at those occurrences and contemplating them with cool, dispassionate minds, we are disposed to say that the strike was our good fortune. It has once for all established the fact, both for us and the employers that the union is here to stay; that it is no longer a passing thing but a permanent institution, resting on firm ground. That bitter struggle dispelled the doubt in the minds of our friends and the hopes in the bosom of our enemies.

In a certain sense the Local No. 1 episode may be regarded as a sequel to the general strike. Just as a fight was necessary to clear away all outside obstacles to the growth and development of our organization, so it was necessary to wage war on the obstacles within. Situations sometimes arise in the relations between men, that do not lend themselves to amicable adjustment, but must be settled by force. The Local No. 1 situation was of that character. It was incumbent on our International Union to demonstrate to the outside world and its own members that it is a responsible, progressive and disciplined army, and this was shown in its action toward the clique which had usurped the authority of the local and sought by its means to cause a split in the ranks of the International.

The trouble afforded the administration an opportunity to demonstrate its energy, ability and methods. If our large membership desires to gauge the competence and worth of the administration it need only take into account the manner in which this affair was handled.

* * *

At the same time the administration carried on organizing work throughout the county, in all branches of our industry. As already alluded to above the International Union four years ago consisted of a few locals in New York. In outside centers we had only charters. In the four years we have succeeded in establishing powerful organizations all over the land. Our control over the cloak trade is complete. There is only one exception—Cleveland. But even there much work has been done. The trenches are prepared, the army is ready and the morale of the workers is excellent. What is required is a strong offensive, and victory is certain. Had not the Local No. 1 clique obstructed our way we should now have counted Cleveland in the same category as Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Cincin-

nati, St. Louis, Toronto, Montreal, Toledo and a number of other cities.

It should not be overlooked that the fates were against us. The first three years of our administration were fraught with difficulty and danger for our trades. Bitter slackness prevailed. There have been times when in the city of New York 25,000 to 30,000 of our members have gone idle for months. In slack time it is hard to maintain the existing organizations, let alone to organize new local unions.

Yet we have ventured and won. Among the delegates at this year's convention all branches of our industry in all parts of the country will have representatives, and we hope that they will share our sentiment of satisfaction and gladness at the work done during the years in which we have enjoyed their confidence.

THE REFERENDUM ON WEEK WORK IN THE CLOAK TRADE

At the coming convention the question of week work will be taken up. We hoped that the delegates would have an easy task. But the result is not as expected.

As previously announced, the New York Joint Board had submitted the question to a referendum vote of its members engaged on piece work. The result, already known, shows a majority of less than a thousand votes for week work. Were the majority a very large one the delegates would have no difficulty in coming to a decision. In view of the knowledge that large masses of workers are enthusiastically in favor of the change they could decide there and then to open negotiations with the manufacturers concerning the proposition and to draw up a scale of wages, etc.

Since, however, the majority for week work is comparatively small we must proceed with caution. We must weigh the matter well before taking action.

We thoroughly realize how hard it is to get along with the old system of settling prices. The evils of discrimination and sub-manufacturing grow out of the piece work system. We fully understand the gain that would result to the members individually and to the union collectively from the establishment of week work in the entire trade. We have extensively spoken and written on the subject.

Yet we hold that we must be cautious, for the change would be radical and fundamental. It is one of those reforms which calls for enthusiasm and the exercise of a strong will by the mass of the workers. If a large minority is lukewarm and not quite convinced that the change must be made, it is necessary to be very careful before taking action.

It is for the convention to decide. Perhaps we can find a way of safely carrying out this necessary reform, even under the present circumstances. But the delegates to the convention will be well advised to preserve an earnest attitude in regard to every proposed step, and consider it with due deliberation, notwithstanding the fact that a majority voted in favor of the proposition.

OUR INTERNATIONAL UNION BUYS LIBERTY BONDS FOR \$100,000

The General Executive Board feels that its decision to buy Liberty Bonds for the sum of \$100,000 expresses the wish and desire of the entire membership of the International Union.

The United States of America, of which we all are good and loyal citizens, is waging a life-and-death struggle with a militarist power that tramples upon and outrages every free country upon which it can manage to lay its blood-and-iron claws.

From the first day that America entered the war President Wilson has made it clear that we have nothing against the German people and that we are ready to sheath the sword and negotiate for peace, as soon as the German people can manage to form a democratic government—a government which will reckon with the will of the people. Our war is against a clique of Prussian Junkers and militarists who hold the German people in political bondage and who are seeking to fasten a yoke around the necks of all the free countries surrounding Germany.

A large majority of our membership has felt the prongs of a Junker power. They have suffered untold agonies under such a power in old Russia. We know what the world can expect from a Wilhelm, who, in reality, is not a whit better than Nicholas, but rather more cunning and wily. We see the peril and therefore must do all in our power to foil it.

The General Executive Board feels that it has done a small part of its duty to help freedom's struggle everywhere and its duty to our country by the purchase of Liberty Bonds for \$100,000.

MAY DAY IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR

By A. R.

May Day as an international labor day has been always celebrated by Socialistic workers in Europe and America in parades and demonstrations in the streets. But owing to the war the First of May has more or less lost its outward pomp. Today, in the fourth year of the war, when the world mourns its slaughtered children, its desolated cities and loss of billions of treasure, there would be no sense in celebrating the day in the old, noisy style.

But, the liberating thought for labor that the First of May stands for has not been weakened, but rather strengthened very much. Labor in the biggest, freest countries has received considerable recognition. Thus the first of May and its message for the workers has assumed a more practical aspect. Formerly the day was devoted to agitation mostly for an eight-hour day. Today the eight-hour day, where labor is organized, has become a reality almost everywhere. Formerly we were wont to demons-

trate our solidarity with the workers of the whole world. Today the solidarity of the freest and most civilized peoples is knit together in a titanic struggle for liberty, popular rights and the rights of nations. Today we all feel that the only stumbling block to our real national, political and economic emancipation is the dark power of Junkerism.

Nationally the workers of England and America are more strongly organized than years ago and their influence is more extensively and profoundly felt. We are in the midst of a period of real transition. The realization of the ideals which International Labor Day has always expressed has become much nearer to us than we hoped for only four years ago. It now depends merely on the issue of the war. If the free democratic countries will secure the final victory, we shall before long stand on the threshold of a new and juster social order. It is in this sense that we contemplate the First of May, 1918, and that our cloakmakers, waistmakers, whitegoods workers and other members, will celebrate the day.

THE KARL MARX CENTENARY

Socialists and Socialistic workers rightly view the celebration of the Karl Marx 100th anniversary as if he lived with us in the flesh. Marx's body died more than thirty years ago, but his spirit lives and acts within us today far more effectively than it did in the masses of the workers during his lifetime. What has rendered this great man immortal for the workers of the world?

In another column Herman Schlueter writes more fully on the life and creative work of the father and founder of scientific Socialism. The theories and ideas of this great teacher of the workers have since become common property. They float about in the minds of the toiling masses consciously and unconsciously. Perhaps we do not express them in such words as Marx has expressed them. But their meaning is felt in the souls of all oppressed wage slaves, who toil and moil and others enjoy the fruits of their labor.

As yet in 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" framed this call to the labor masses: "Workers of all countries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain." Ever since that year this call has been a magic word for the workers. Expressed at every gathering and displayed upon labor publications the slogan has stirred and inspired the people.

"Workers of all countries unite!" The slogan has lost nothing of its force and freshness. It still powerfully re-echoes in the hearts and minds. Those workers who have united and organized have much reason to celebrate on May 5 the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx. The fact that they now have better labor conditions, lighter burdens in the shops and factories and brighter prospects for the future they have much to be thankful for to the world-renowned teacher and thinker, Karl Marx.

Workers of all countries unite and break the chains of industrial bondage!

The 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Karl Marx

By HERMAN SCHLUETER

A hundred years ago, on the fifth of May, 1918, at Trier, in the Rhineland, *Karl Marx* was born, a man to whom the working class of the world owes more than to any other human being. Despite the raging war and despite the thunder of battle, he will, therefore be remembered during these days in all countries and in all tongues, on this and on yonder side as a man who has devoted all his rich knowledge, all his great abilities towards the one aim: **THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS!**

His rich knowledge! As Darwin has discovered the law of evolution of organic nature, so has Karl Marx discovered the law of evolution of human history. It was Marx who established the simple historical fact that all the various forms of human society depend upon how people eat, drink, live and clothe themselves and how they obtain the means of subsistence. Each step of economic evolution of a people or of a period, therefore, forms the basis "from which the political structure of the State, the conception of law, art and even the religious idea of the people in question have developed and out of which they must also be explained—not, as has heretofore been the case, but the contrary."—Engels.

Besides this great scientific discovery, by which human history was put upon its real basis and by which particularly the class-character of all previous society was put into the proper light, Marx has established the special law of evolution of the present capitalistic production and the bourgeois society created by it. He discovered that all social wealth is accumulated surplus value; surplus value, which the worker has created above his pay; value, which the capitalist pockets without giving the worker any compensation for it; value, accumulated for that purpose to exploit the worker with it and by it still more.

The materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value—these are the two most important scientific discoveries of Karl Marx. Both of them still form the basis of the entire Socialistic theory of today and without it the labor movement of the world would not even now, have an insight into their real task and no perception of their actual aim.

And therein Karl Marx saw his life's task: he wanted to enlighten the workers about their historical mission; wanted to

show them the road to their final emancipation! He pursued his scientific researches not for the sake of science—and there he differed from the ordinary representative of science—but he wanted to put his knowledge at the service of the working class. "Science was for Marx a motive, a revolutionary force" and to have placed this revolutionary force at the disposal of the labor movement of the world—that is the great merit of this great thinker and fighter.

And from his early youth the great knowledge of this extraordinary man has been at the service of the labor movement of the world.

There hardly existed outside of England—a movement of the working class, when the eagle eye of Marx already perceived its historic importance. At that time already he gave to the workers the famous motto: "Proletarians of all Nations, unite!" which has since become the battle cry of the workers of the entire world. At that time he already began to devote his entire knowledge and his whole power to the realization of this sentence and to prepare the working masses for this revolutionary task. "Because Marx was above all a revolutionist. To co-operate, in this or any other manner, in the overthrow of capitalistic society and the political institutions created by it, to aid in the emancipation of the modern proletariat, to which he had first given the consciousness of its own condition and necessities, consciousness of the conditions for its emancipation—that was his true life vocation."—Engels.

And this vocation he followed when he created the International Workingmen's Association and gave it aim and substance. And he has filled this vocation with his numerous writings, with his work, with all his actions to the end of his life.

And, therefore, today, on his hundredth anniversary, he will be remembered in every hut, factory and workshop, from the icy fields of Siberia to the sunny coast of the Pacific. And, therefore, today all clear-sighted workers of all countries reach hands across the battle fields and gain consolation and hope for the future from the great words of Marx, which will become reality for all that and all that:

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!"

The British Labor Party

Its Methods and Practical way of Arriving at the New Social Order

By A. ROSEBURY

Within recent months the British Labor Party has emerged to the surface as the most forceful section of the labor movement of the world. Ever since the outbreak of the war in 1914 there have been many Socialist and Labor declarations by celebrated leaders in Europe about the prospects of labor after the war. None of these declarations, however, has carried with it the power of inspiring the world of labor so strongly as the report and recommendations of the Sub-Committee of the British Labor Party submitted to its conference in London three months ago.

AIMING AT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER

The British Labor Party works by more or less positive, constructive methods. All sections of the labor movement in England are now knit together politically. In the prosecution of the war all parties, including the "Laborites" and Socialists, work with the government, but of their own free will, without any compulsion whatever, and they work together like practical business people who have a clear understanding. The British workers are patriots, but they admit aiming at the conquest of political and economic power which rightly belongs to them because they are the mainstay of the nation. This explains why they have made certain concessions asked by the government. But they have thereby improved their position and extended their influence.

It is interesting to know what it is that has recently made the British Labor Party so prominent before the world. Until lately the Labor Party was composed of 120 trade unions with a membership of 2,400,000.

240 trades councils and local labor parties.

Independent Labor Party, membership 35,000.

British Socialist Party, membership 10,000.

Fabian Society, membership 2,140.

Women's Labor League, membership 5,500.

Before the Labor Party was organized all these organizations were disunited and sometimes at loggerheads. In the Labor Party they are politically united. Formerly the larger organizations had put forward their own candidates in opposition to each other and most of them were defeated, but since the Labor Party has been in existence, all organized workers and radical elements have an opportunity to nominate the best candidates. Each organization is entitled to run a certain number of candidates, and at the elections they are all able to combine, beat the capitalist candidates and elect their

own men, especially in working class constituencies and industrial centers.

ITS DEFINITE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

The British Labor Party naturally shares the character of the British people. It is slow-going, cold-blooded, deliberate and determined. The trade unions, comprising the majority of the Party, have never relied too much on theories, however high-sounding they might be. "An ounce of practice is more than a pound of theory," has ever been the guiding idea of all practical men at the head of the British labor movement. Thus the Party in its first years did not show any signs of a revolutionary character, and this made the radicals at home impatient with its tactics, while the radicals abroad treated it with silent contempt. This was before the war.

But the war has revealed the light and shade of the labor movement in the principal countries of Europe. Revolutionists showed themselves to be conservatives beneath the surface, while they who had been thought conservatives emerged to the surface as real revolutionists.

The much criticized British Labor Party has quite recently demonstrated its revolutionary spirit. Its statement of aims is a quickening word and a source of inspiration to all progressive workers everywhere. Did this attitude come suddenly? No. The Labor Party had this revolutionary trait, but it did not care to put the cart before the horse. In consonance with the British character it waited for a favorable opportunity, and the fourth year of the war has provided this opportunity. Incidentally the fact is disclosed—a fact not generally known in American labor circles—that the British labor movement has a definite philosophy and a definite aim for the immediate future. This is something which as yet the American labor movement has not.

Here are a few characteristic passages from its social program:

We need to beware of patchwork. . . . What has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department . . . but so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. . . . We of the Labor Party recognize, in the present world catastrophe if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. . . .

If in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself . . . we must insure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting

but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM

Then follow a number of practical propositions applicable to local circumstances in England. The party demands:

1.—"The universal enforcement of a minimum." This is explained to mean the legislative regulation of labor and employment; securing employment for all; social insurance against unemployment.

2. Democratic Control of Industry. This is interpreted to mean that all, men and women shall be completely free in the exercise of political rights; that the land and industries shall speedily become nationalized, and such industries as remain in capitalist hands shall be subject to control.

3. National finance shall be revolutionized. This means that the war debt shall be covered by a system of "direct taxation of incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance." It means that all who have larger incomes shall pay a graduated tax.

4. That the surplus of wealth shall be appropriated and applied to the common good, for the good and welfare of all. It shall go toward easing the burden of toil, giving more light, affording more spiritual enjoyment, education, enlightenment and general happiness.

PREPARING FOR THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

The British Labor Party has also undergone internal reorganization. Heretofore individual members could not belong to it, and it consisted of the leaders of affiliated organizations. Now it has assumed the character of an organization formed of branches or locals whose membership may include also brain workers who agree with its aims. Women workers will form separate branches, which will be represented on the executive committee. Some 6,000,000 women have recently been enfranchised. In

England there is no doubt that the new element of politically enfranchised women will help to make the Labor Party a power in the land.

Reports from London refer to a widespread belief, based on a statement by Arthur Henderson, secretary of the party, that at the next general election the Labor Party will contest 400 seats. It is well to remember that in 1906 the party ran fifty candidates of whom twenty-nine were elected. In 1910 there were two elections. At the first election the party ran seventy-eight candidates and 40 were elected. At the second election forty-two out of fifty-six candidates were successful. At the present time the party has thirty-eight members in the British Parliament.

So far 155 labor candidates have been already chosen for nomination by the various organizations. In this connection it is interesting to note how some of the unions intend to act in this regard. Thus it is reported that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has decided to contest fifty-two seats; the Amalgamated Society of Engineers twelve seats; the National Union of Teachers, the Sailors' and Firemen's Union and the Boilermakers' Society six each, the Textile Workers five; the National Union of Railwaymen four and the Boot and Shoe Operatives three. As to local labor parties, most of them will contest a number of seats, while many smaller unions and party branches will support the labor candidates of their district.

The Independent Labor Party is preparing to run thirty-five candidates; the British Socialist Party thirteen and in the London district which sends sixty-two members of Parliament it is intended to run candidates in every Parliamentary constituency.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that in regard to International relations the Labor Party seeks to co-operate with the organized workers of all countries and work for a league of nations to maintain peace and liberty and settle international disputes by conciliation and arbitration.

PARIS DRESS WORKERS GET NEW WAGE SCALE

Paris.—The Dressmaking employers have accepted a new minimum wage scale for their employees:

For first hand ladies' tailors, 7.50 francs; second hands, 6.50 francs, with additional increases necessitated by the higher cost of living.

Furriers likewise demanded a minimum wage; equal wages for equal work for all workers; privilege of shop chairmen; the Saturday half-holiday applying to all workers; and minor improvements.

Apprentices and helpers are to get a substantial increase.

The movement has extended to umbrella and parasol workers.

Regarding Higher Per Capita

By AB. BAROFF

I am inclined to believe that some of our members, on reading the above heading, will feel dissatisfied and mutter to themselves:

"Again we are asked for a higher per capita. Why come to us so very often for higher payments? First organize strong unions and give us increased earnings and then demand of us a higher per capita."

And these members will think themselves smart and original. They do not seem to realize that their way of thinking of the union and its benefits and possibilities for the workers is wrong and illogical. They evidently fail to see that the per capita paid to the International determines the activity of our union and its success.

No Successful Organizing Without Ample Funds

Let us analyze the cry of "give us increased earnings and then demand of us higher per capita." Does it seem to these members that the work of organizing strong and powerful locals and winning for the workers higher wage standards is something that can be attained by the International officers saying their prayers?

How are unions organized? First of all we need intelligent, devoted and true leaders to undertake the task of spreading the idea of labor solidarity among the workers. They must arouse them to a sense of self-respect and keep urging them to strive for improved conditions of life. By constant agitation they must imbue the hearts of the workers with hope and faith in the power of unity. This cannot be done by mere contemplation. Energetic effort must be applied; frequent personal contact with the workers is necessary; educational literature has to be distributed. For all this money is required to crown the work with success.

And when this educational work has been attended with success and the workers have begun to perceive that they are entitled to a better livelihood,

and that to attain it they must be organized in a union, the question arises how to bring this about and with it—relief and improvements. The employers remain indifferent to the movement. Having for years exploited the workers they do not easily give up their profiteering tactics, and refuse to give up their unlimited domination over the workers without a struggle. This leads to the next step in the organizing campaign—forcing the employers to make concessions by asserting the power of the union. A general strike has to be called in the industry.

No Effective Strikes by Enthusiasm Alone

The success of the strike does not depend on the enthusiasm of the strikers alone. Very often the manufacturers are stubborn and refuse to give in to the union. They derive strength from the workers' helpless condition, knowing that their "hands" could not save money from the miserable wages they received to carry them through the strike, and they rely upon the starvation of the strikers to deaden their enthusiasm and bring their victims back to the factories. Therefore, in order that the employers should not triumph over the workers and that their diabolic idea of reducing them to submission by starvation should not be realized, the union must stand by them and provide the strikers with the means of life. Our brave fighters must not be allowed to reach the starvation point, and an ample supply of money is required to keep up the good fight and encourage the men and women to stand firm for easier conditions and better wages.

This money supply must come from the funds of the International. It is to carry on this noble work that the International Union was organized; and such funds are derived from the per capita paid by the general membership. The larger the receipts from this source and the richer the general treasury the surer the success with which

the International can accomplish its task.

In my article "Our Organizing Campaigns," in the March issue of the **Ladies' Garment Worker** I pointed out the importance and necessity of this organizing work of the International Union. That, together with what I am saying here, should show the opponents of a higher per capita the connection between successful organizing campaigns and the per capita dues paid to the International.

Need of Organizing More Urgent Than Ever.

We shall probably be asked the question: Did not the thirteenth convention in Philadelphia raise the per capita to 4 cents, 1½ cents more than formerly? It was then computed by some delegates that the 1½ cents increase would bring in tens of thousands of dollars and enable the International Union to proceed with its organizing campaigns more freely than ever. Why then this demand again for a higher per capita?

In answer to this I want to point out to our members that the centers which now call for organizing campaigns differ from the centers of past endeavors. We are now confronted by a different element which is harder to reach by the ordinary means of agitation. This element has no idea of the trade union movement. I am referring to the native American women workers in our industry, who have been brought up with antipathy to trade unionism, who believe that it is a movement for immigrants and that they are altogether superior to it. To organize this element much more energy, patience and financial resources are required. In spite of energetic campaigns in several such centers of industry we have not succeeded in rallying these workers to the banner of unionism.

Thus the delegates will have no difficulty to understand that if we want to organize completely our industry throughout the land we must tackle these new centers. If my opinion has any value I want to stress the point that the necessity of organizing the workers everywhere is more urgent

than ever because our industry is extending everywhere. Ladies' garment factories are now being found in almost all cities, and the workers in these factories are of the character referred to above. Everyone who has been active in the work of building our unions must come to the conclusion that our International Union must in the near future transfer its activity to the new centres, where employers find obedient slaves. There we must disseminate the ideas of unity and co-operation in order to insure the existence of our unions and the earnings of our members.

Those who are opposed to a higher per capita will see from the foregoing that although we conducted successful organizing campaigns, organized unions and improved conditions with 2½ cents per capita, our new field of organizing endeavor is harder to tackle even with our present 4 cents per capita. For with all our active campaigning we have not succeeded in building up unions and gaining additional members in those new fields.

Revenue of 1916 Larger Than That of 1917

Our members should also bear in mind that our International Union in the past availed itself of Article 7, Section 1 of our constitution, which reads as follows:

The General Executive Board shall have the power to declare a levy of ten cents per member per week on all affiliated unions for a continuous period not exceeding fifteen (15) weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated organization engaged in a protracted strike or lockout. The locals shall collect the assessment from the members through assessment stamps issued by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Formerly the General Executive Board exercised its constitutional right of levying these assessments almost every year. Together with the assessments the revenues of the International amounted to more than 2½ cents per member. The following figures will show that for the year 1916 the revenue of the International Union, from a 2½ cents per capita including assess-

ments, exceeded the revenue of 1917 by \$9,018.64, notwithstanding the fact that in 1917 the per capita was 4 cents:

Income from Per Capita:

Dues for 1916.....\$114,270.
Assessments for 1916..... 36,046.80

Total Income for 1916..\$150,316.80

Income from Per Capita:

Dues for 1917.....\$141,298.16
Excess Income in 1916
over that of 1917..... 9,018.64

It is true that the Philadelphia convention did not deprive the General

Executive Board of the right to levy assessments. Knowing, however, the difficulties experienced by our locals in collecting the assessments from their members the G. E. B. has refrained from exercising this right. The result, as the figures show, speaks for itself.

The question deserves the attention of the delegates to the convention, and I rely on their intelligence and loyalty to act in regard to this problem as true trade unionists who feel the importance of making the organization strong and powerful and thus assure to its members easier conditions of labor.

Health Benefits and Health Insurance

Two Important Matters for Convention of the International Garment Workers

By GEORGE M. PRICE

There are two vital matters which it seems to me should come before the next convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Boston. I refer to health benefits and health insurance.

In his article in the April Number of the *Ladies' Garment Worker*, President Benjamin Schlesinger has in a remarkably vivid way indicated the necessity of a new departure on the part of the I. L. G. W. U. in the endeavor to establish certain health benefits in the industry. He referred to death, tuberculosis and sickness benefits but indicated that perhaps the union is not as yet ready to introduce all these benefits but should begin with death benefit first.

I wish to emphasize the fact that the I. L. G. W. U. is perfectly prepared for the introduction of at least one of the health benefits, namely, that for tuberculosis. Three very large locals—35, 23, and 9—with a membership of over twenty thousand, have already introduced a tuberculosis benefit; two or three other locals are on the verge of joining this movement; the matter has been agitated in the press and among the members, and it seems to me that the membership is fully ripe to introduce a tuberculosis benefit, to be made general in all the locals by the action of the convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

It has been definitely established that

there are at present at least two per cent. of the workers, working in the shops, suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. This would mean that of the one hundred thousand membership of the I. L. G. W. U. there are at least two thousand men and women who are suffering from this dread disease and who are allowed to work in the shops, surely infecting their fellow workers and spreading disease among them. There is no reason why this menace should not be removed, and it may easily be done by the introduction of a tuberculosis benefit in the entire union.

During the last few years it has been demonstrated that the contribution of \$1.00 per annum per member is sufficient to bear the cost of the tuberculosis benefit. This would mean only about two cents per week per member—surely a very small sum to be imposed upon themselves by the members for such a great cause. A contribution of one dollar would mean a sum of one hundred thousand dollars per year, for which great work could be done toward the elimination of tuberculosis from the industry, by establishing and supporting a tuberculosis sanatorium of our own and also keeping up our members in other sanatoria.

I believe the members of the I. L. G. W. U. are ready for such action and will hail with enthusiasm the establishment

of a tuberculosis benefit in the entire union.

* * *

The second matter which I should like to bring to the attention of the next convention is the subject of the stand to be taken by the I. L. G. W. U. in regard to "social, or health insurance."

As is well known, the question of compulsory health or sickness insurance has been brought up in many states and already has been introduced by ten of the largest international labor unions. The New York State Federation of Labor has during 1917 and 1918 joined this great movement and introduced a bill in the legislature for this insurance. In ten other states such legislation has already been introduced and there is no doubt that health insurance is soon to become a law.

The I. L. G. W. U., one of the most progressive of all labor organizations in the country, should stand squarely for the laudable proposition of health insurance accepted by most of the enlightened labor organizations in the country and should join this great movement in distributing the cost of sickness, invalidity and unemployment on the whole industry and the whole population, instead of making them a burden only on the workers themselves.

With the organization of medical benefits in the various locals of the I. L. G. W. U. and with the adoption of tuberculosis benefit for the whole International, and with the assistance of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which is practically the Health Department of the whole industry, in New York, it will be feasible to control the health benefits, after the health insurance becomes a law, *by the unions themselves*, thus making health insurance a matter of union and local control.

I trust these two important matters will receive due attention at the convention.

I expect to pass through this world but once; if, therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me do it now, for I shall not pass this way again.—Anon.

FAMILY EXPENSES DOUBLED SINCE 1900

The United States bureau of labor statistics reports that a wage of \$1,500 a year will only provide "the minimum standard of comfort."

In other words, this governmental agency declares that if a worker does not receive \$5 a day for 300 working days in the year he cannot support a family in the most restricted kind of comfort.

In 24 principal American cities the lowest annual wage should be \$1,650.

Washington, April 20.—The cost of maintaining a family in this country has doubled since 1900, according to the United States bureau of labor statistics. Figures, just made public, show that the average cost in 1900 was \$679. During 1917 the cost of the same commodities was \$1401. Food alone in 1917 cost only \$53 less than all items combined in 1900. \$327 represented the expenditure for food of the average working man's family in 1900. By 1911 this had risen to \$430 and in 1917 it cost \$716. Rent had advanced 59 per cent. Clothing doubled, rising from \$106 to \$210. Fuel and lighting show a similar advance rising from \$40 to \$82. Most of the advance in all these items occurred between 1914 and 1917. The 1917 figures, the bureau says, are already outdated because of subsequent advances. The minimum standard of comfort today requires a wage of approximately \$1500 per year. The average of 24 American cities is that the minimum amount necessary for a reasonable standard of health and comfort in those 24 principal American cities is \$1650, of which \$660 is spent for food. Investigation by the department of health in New York city fixed the figure for that city at \$1682.

The above figures do not include increases in the cost of such things as amusements, charity, insurance, taxes, books, newspapers, or expenses incident to sickness and death.

WOULD STABILIZE WAGES.

Washington, April 20.—The department of labor and the United States shipping board are attempting to work out a system whereby wages will be regulated to compensate for the increased cost of living.

This plan is accepted by some British manufacturers, especially in the textile industries. In Lancaster and other cities in England an agreement has been effected by employers and the workers whereby wages are made to fluctuate in accordance with figures on the cost of living prepared by the British Board of Trade. About 60,000 workers are included in these agreements which cover all classes of textile workers except mechanics and those engaged in the maintenance of the plants.

American Labor Movement in Present Crisis

By A. R.

PROPOSED ELIMINATION OF STRIKES

Early last month representative officers of five international unions appointed on the War Labor Conference Board published their recommendations for maintaining industrial peace during war time. In these recommendations the United States Government is asked to adopt a policy officially recognizing organized labor.

The creation of a national war labor board is proposed with functions and powers of bringing about settlement of labor disputes by mediation and conciliation through appropriate machinery of committees or boards sitting in various parts of the country and having a well-defined authority.

It is provided that the board in its work of mediation and conciliation shall be governed by the following principles:

Right to Organize

The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations.

In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together, and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such condition shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions, or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the

matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

Women in Industry

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

Hours of Labor

The basic eight hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health and proper comfort of the workers.

Mobilization of Labor

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished:

1. By the trade unions.
2. By state employment bureaus and federal agencies of like character.
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies should be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor, as necessity demands.

Custom of Localities

In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions, prevailing in the localities affected.

The Living Wage

The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

President Wilson subsequently approved the plan in a proclamation, calling upon all employers and employees to enlist the aid of the board in settling labor difficulties, and urges that there be no discontinuance of work which would interfere with production while negotiations are in progress.

WORKERS MAY STRIKE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS

Washington, D. C.—Organized labor scored a victory in the house of representatives by securing exception of orderly or bona fide strikes for increased pay and better conditions from drastic penalties directed at war-time interruption of beligerent utilities.

The bill, which passed, provides a \$10,000 fine, 30 years' imprisonment or both for the willful injury or destruction of war material, for willfully making or causing to be made in a defective manner any war material, or for conspiring to prevent the erection or production of such war premises or war utilities.

The last provision is limited in its operation by the clause that nothing in the act shall apply to the right of men to agree together to cease work or not to work if for the purpose of getting increased wages or for bettering their conditions.

UNIONISM AND ARBITRATION PUT PACKING INDUSTRY ON 8 HOURS

Chicago, Ill.—As the culmination of an organizing campaign among stock yards' workers started last June by the Chicago Federation of Labor, America's packing industry has been swept into the eight-hour column.

To avoid a strike the packers agreed to arbitration and Federal Judge Alschuler has just ruled that beginning May 5 next eight hours shall be the basic work day, to be completed as far as possible within a period of not more than nine consecutive hours. Double time shall be paid for Sunday and holiday work and time and one-quarter for overtime up to 10 hours, and time and one-half thereafter. Where plants operate on the three-shift system employes shall be allowed 20 minutes for lunch with pay.

Wages are increased as follows: For employees receiving 30 cents an hour and under, 4½ cents increase; between 30 and 40 cents an hour, 4 cents increase; and 3½ cents increase for those receiving over 40 cents an hour. Where women do the same work as men they shall be paid men's rates. These increases are to date back to January 14 last.

On May 5 next, when the eight-hour day becomes effective, the wage increases must be readjusted so that workers will receive the same wage as they did under the long workday system.

In answer to the employers' claim that the packing industry is now on a 10-hour basis, Judge Alschuler said that 11, 12 and 13 hours are exceedingly common and "14 and 15 and even more hours daily for a number of days is not unusual, and Sunday work is very frequent."

The decision will affect over 100,000 workers employed in packing plants of Armour, Cudahy, Morris, Swift and Wilson in this city and plants operated by some

of them in Chicago, Kansas City, Sioux City, St. Joseph, St. Louis, East St. Louis, Denver, Oklahoma City, St. Paul, Omaha and Fort Worth.

Arbitration hearings started last February. Prior to this the workers presented demands and the antagonistic attitude of the packers developed such a strike spirit among the workers that the government asked both sides to come to Washington to adjust differences.

Packers agreed to arbitrate, and almost immediately attempted to withdraw their signatures. They abandoned this position however, when the workers answered, "Arbitrate or face a strike." It is hinted that Secretary of Labor Wilson expressed views on the packers' proposal that recalled the old days when he was an officer of the United Mine Workers.

STANDARD OIL ADOPTS COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is flirting with organized labor's theory of collective bargaining. Its plan provides for meetings between company officials and representatives of the employees. If a laborer, hardly able to speak the English language, feels that he has been wronged he may, it is stated, appeal personally even to the company's highest officials. Life insurance, pensions and sickness insurance is provided. An applicant for employment must submit to a physical examination that "he is not assigned to a job to which he may be unequal."

"One difficulty with which the company has been confronted," said Mr. Bedford, "was that because of its tremendous growth, it had lost the immediate personal touch between the management and the workers."

Another indication that Standard oil officials are making social progress was the statement that "welfare work is not regarded in any sense as a substitute for fair wages."

The essential difference between Standard oil's plan and organized labor's is that the first "gives" and the latter "takes."

MRS. MOONEY AND ISRAEL WEINBERG RELEASED

San Francisco—Mrs. Rena Mooney was released from jail March 30 on bail of \$7,500 on each of two charges of murder against her in connection with the preparedness day parade bomb explosion here in 1916.

Mrs. Mooney had been in jail since July 27, 1916. She was brought to trial and acquitted of one of the eight charges against her.

Israel Weinberg, defendant in the preparedness day bomb cases, has been released from jail on \$15,000 bail after an imprisonment of one year and nine months.

Despite his recent prompt acquittal the prosecution has held him in jail on other charges in connection with the bomb throwing. Weinberg's attorneys secured an order from the state supreme court that Judge Dunne must pass upon the validity of the bail bonds. This court has been charged with using dilatory methods in this case, and to meet every objection, the attorneys deposited \$15,000 in cash.

On leaving the jail, Weinberg said: "The supreme court has admitted that the crime with which we are charged was a single transaction, and if one of the defendants is admissible to bail, they all are; and if one is innocent, they all are. I am confident that in a very short time Tom Mooney and Billings will be free also."

MOONEY ASKS FOR PARDON

San Francisco—Thomas J. Mooney has asked Governor Stephens for a pardon from the sentence of death imposed in connection with the preparedness day bomb outrage in 1916.

This is the only remaining course for Mooney, as the state supreme court has refused to grant him a new trial, although the court was shown that perjury methods were employed by the prosecution. The state supreme court took the position that the trial was ended and the record of the case—which it alone acts on—was closed before the perjury charges were proven. In effect, the state supreme court holds that it will not go outside the record of a case, even though human life is endangered.

Prior to this it had been reported that President Wilson had telegraphed Governor William D. Stephens of California asking executive clemency for the convicted man.

DETROIT LABOR PARADE ON MAY 1ST

The Detroit Workers' Defense League has arranged for a May Day demonstration, which project has been enthusiastically endorsed by the Detroit Federation of Labor, at its last meeting.

All affiliated organizations are expected to take part in the demonstration of solidarity.

SEATTLE CENTRAL LABOR UNION TO PUBLISH DAILY PAPER

Seattle—To put their new daily newspaper on a financial basis the Central Labor Union has incorporated a \$100,000 stock company. To check any attempt of outside influences to gain control of a majority of the stock, 51 per cent will be held by the Central Labor Union. The spirit behind this movement is shown in the report of Editor Ault who stated that in one week \$9,900 in cash or Liberty Bonds had been contributed. When Delegate Wilson of the Truckers' Union heard this state-

ment he said the amount should be \$10,000, and posted his bonds for \$100.

CO-OPERATIVE BUYING A SUCCESS

The wholesale purchasing department of the Central States Co-operative Society is a success, reports John H. Walker, president of the society and president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"Reports from our wholesale purchasing representative," said Walker, "indicate that the wholesale department has saved a little over \$660 after paying the salary and all expenses of the representative for the first month of the department's existence.

"This is an inspiration to every real co-operator. It proves that our movement is everything that has been claimed for it. Every co-operative store in Illinois and nearby states should buy at least their staple articles and as many of the other articles as they possibly can through the wholesale department."

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS TO HOLD CONVENTION

The third biennial convention of this union will be held beginning next May 13, in Baltimore, Md. The union has been in existence four years. The convention call issued some time ago by Secretary Joseph Schlossberg says:

"The third convention, next May, in Baltimore, will be greeted by the greatest hosts of labor ever organized in the clothing industry, with a new and inspiring record of progress and attainments, including the establishment of the 48 hour week.

"We are coming to the Third Biennial Convention with a stronger organization, with a greater record of achievements, with a more powerful press, and with a sense of self-reliance that will be an inexhaustible source of courage in the great task of working out our own salvation."

THE 3,000,000 MARK

There never was such rapid growth of membership before;

In consequence, exploiters have a grouch—they're awful sore.

But nothing seems to stem the tide, the workers plainly see

The so-called open shop is but the road to poverty.

So everyone get on the rope and pull away like—well,

Just pull as hard as possible for the A. F. of L.

If each and every one will do their part, it won't be long

Till we can say with pride, we've reached the mark—three million strong.

—Thomas H. West.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE REORGANIZED CLOAK OPERATORS UNION LOCAL No. 1



Left to right, seated: Mr. T. Ashpis; Mr. Wagner; Ph. Kaplowitz; Benj. Schlesinger (International President); Mr. Wolberg; W. Bloom; B. Feinberg.
Left to right standing: M. Sapin; A. Student; N. Haynes; F. J. Ringer.

Two Women Workers' Locals in Our International

By FANNIA M. COHN

THE UPBUILDING OF THE CHILDREN'S DRESSMAKER'S UNION LOCAL NO. 50.

The history of the Children's Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 50, is very interesting. It tells us of the trials and tribulations that the workers of this trade have undergone before they succeeded in building up this union. Now that this Local occupies an indisputable position within the International and in the progressive labor movement, it is interesting to note the conditions that had existed in this trade before it was organized and the progress it has made since then.

It was in 1909, when a handful of pressers of a few shops of that trade assembled somewhere in a small room in Brownsville and discussed the then existing labor conditions. The workers complained of long working hours; because while the small earnings were regulated there was no limit to the hours. As long as the engine was in motion, the workers were at their machines, and so it was not very seldom that they worked 70 hours and more a week, but never less than 60 hours.

At that meeting the workers also complained that it was absolutely impossible for them to live on their meager earnings that seldom exceeded \$3 to \$5 a week. One of the causes of the low earnings, was, in their opinion, the fact that the employers exploited learners. Learners worked between two and four weeks without compensation at all, and afterwards the employers were at liberty to fix the price, and the price seldom was above two dollars for a period of three or four weeks.

So that the employers had plenty of almost free labor, supplied by the constant influx of learners.

A curious grievance ventilated at that historical meeting was that of the workers of a certain shop that their employer sent one of the working girls to his home to take care of his baby while his wife went shopping. The workers of other shops complained of being subjected to bad treatment and humiliation on the part of their employers, many of whom cursed them and used insulting language, which no person with any dignity can tolerate for a moment.

After these indictments against the employers it became evident to all that the only way to improve conditions was by organized protest, by forming a union of all the workers in the trade.

The idea was so novel that many doubted whether it would be possible to induce

a considerable number of the children's dressmakers to join such an organization. Fear was expressed that the employers would notice such a movement among their workers and discharge them, and that the 90 per cent women workers, the majority of whom were young girls who never heard anything about a labor union, would hold aloof from the movement.

Finally the view of the few enthusiastic idealists prevailed, and it was decided to form a union. A committee was appointed to go to the United Hebrew Trades and ask for a charter.

Thus the foundation of the union was laid, and the few members got busy. Every evening they waited outside of some building, where a children's dressmakers' shop was located and called their fellow workers to join them in their effort to organize a union in the trade and so better their unbearable conditions.

Soon this group of pioneers succeeded in obtaining a charter from the International and afterward opened a small office.

In 1910, during the cloakmakers' strike, the union was already strong enough to call out the workers on general strike. The strike was called in Brownsville, where the contractors were located.

The inhuman conditions of the workers in the children's dress trade called forth little attention on the part of the public. Strange to relate, the only men who were interested in ending this strike was the expressman who delivered the merchandise from the manufacturers to the contractor and carried it back. As the expressman also suffered from the strike he constituted himself as mediator and succeeded in bringing together both sides. Afterwards he acted in the capacity of arbitrator.

The result of the strike was the shortening of the hours of labor from 60 and 70 to 53, and there was an understanding between the employers and the workers that in case of trouble a representative of the workers should be admitted to the shop, but the employers refused to sign a written agreement with the local union.

Encouraged by their first victory, the active members of the local succeeded in securing assistance from the International Union, and with the help of an organizer they carried on an energetic organizing campaign, not only among the workers of Williamsburg, Brooklyn, but also in Manhattan, New York. The result of this campaign was the general strike of March, 1913, which lasted three weeks, and brought the manufacturers to terms. The Children's Dress Manufacturers' Association, recog-

nizing the union, signed a collective agreement. The workers secured shorter working hours, from fifty-three to fifty, and one dollar increase for the week workers, to be paid in two terms. Agreements were also signed with the contractors and independent manufacturers.

Unusual dullness in the trade affected the upbuilding of the Local, and in 1914 the general officers of the International started a work of reorganization.

After an energetic campaign, a general strike of the entire trade was called in January, 1916, which lasted about six weeks. The workers fought with determination in spite of great difficulties and eventually the strike was satisfactorily settled, due to the efforts of President Schlesinger, and the local officers.

The collective agreement signed by the Manufacturers' Association still in force, provides for 49 hours work a week; an increase in wages of one dollar for week workers; a 10 per cent increase for piece workers, and a dollar increase every year, during the three-year life of the agreement (1916-1919).

Notable is the fact that they got a minimum wage of six dollars for learners, and so the two dollars compensation which existed previous to the strike was forever banished. In addition to this, the agreement provided double pay for overtime for week workers.

By the terms of the agreement the manufacturers were made responsible for their contractors carrying out its provisions, as well as for the workers' earnings in case the contractor disappeared with the workers' pay, as not seldom had happened previously.

By another provision a committee on immediate action was created, composed of three representatives of each side and an umpire, whose function is to act on any case in dispute arising between the employers and the union, which the officers of both sides fail to adjust. The decision is subject to an appeal to a Board of Arbitration.

By negotiation in conference President Schlesinger and the local officers succeeded in winning for the workers an additional one dollar increase beginning with March 1 of this year. By the agreement they had received an increase of a dollar on January 1, 1918.

Now, at the fifth anniversary of the first general strike of the Children's Dressmakers' Union, we find that Local No. 50 is a great factor in the industry it controls.

Local No. 50 likewise has a recognized place in the progressive labor movement which it supports liberally, financially, as well as morally. The members of Local No. 50 point with pride to the financial assistance their union was able to give to their brothers and sisters of the cloak trade during the lockout of 1916. Their members liberally contributed to the Jewish war suf-

ferers' fund, although Washington's Birthday was not recognized as a legal holiday in their trade.

As a means of being in touch with its membership, the union issues a monthly publication, "Our Aim" which is distributed among the members; and now that the existence of the Children's Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 50, is assured the active members and officers are planning to initiate activities of an educational and social character—this is surely praiseworthy.

Financially as well as morally the local is prepared for any emergency, and we, on our side, take pride in the fact that one more local union whose membership consists of 90 per cent women workers can size itself up with the best organized locals within our International.

STANDING OF WAISTMAKERS, LOCAL 49

Only those acquainted with conditions under which the Boston Waistmakers worked prior to the strike of 1913, will appreciate the accomplishments of Local No. 49.

Not only were the workers insulted by their masters and foremen for the slightest mistake, but they were fined in addition. The earnings were as low as \$3.00 to \$7.00 for a 60 hours week work. There were no limitations to overtime—for which they never were paid extra.

After the two weeks' strike of 1913, the waistmakers succeeded in getting their employers to recognize the union, but the terms on which peace was made did not in the least satisfy the strikers; and the result was that within a short time the local was almost out of existence.

Many of us still remember the doubt of some leaders, as to whether there would ever be a Waistmakers' Union in Boston again. They supported their opinion with the argument that the girls in Boston were incapable of practical and constructive work, and also that they were a lot of hot-headed revolutionists.

But despite these arguments the International Office in 1916 succeeded in reorganizing the local, and after a two days' strike in February of the same year, the union succeeded in getting the manufacturers' association to sign a collective agreement; so that the prophets were utterly confounded. The accomplishments of Local 49 speak for themselves.

Since the strike of 1916, the union has succeeded in increasing the earnings of its

members as high as 100 per cent. In some cases even more; and the workers are getting the best protection in the shops. Sanitary conditions have been introduced in the shops, and not only is there a limitation to working hours, but they are getting time and a half for overtime for week workers, and fifteen cents additional per hour for piece workers. But one of their greatest gains is the forty-eight hour week that the members of Local 49 are enjoying since the first of May.

The Boston Waistmakers' Union ranks among the best locals of our International Union and is generally respected. It is a factor in the progressive labor movement of Boston, to which it renders liberal support, material and moral. The union also enjoys a standing within the community.

The excellent conditions of the Waistmakers' organization induced the cutters of the trade to join the Local to have a chance to work with them hand in hand for further improvement.

That the waistmakers appreciate the accomplishments of their union is proven by the fact that in celebrating the second anniversary of their organization in February, 1918, every member participated by contributing something to the exhibition arranged for the purpose. To bring the members closer together it was decided that its proceeds should go for a country home—a Unity Center—which should be run on a co-operative basis, where every member should have an opportunity to spend a few weeks in the hot summer months in pleasant surroundings.

Now, that the existence of the Local is assured, the active members and officers are considering the necessity of introducing educational and social activities. A course of lectures has been arranged.

But before activities of such a character can be a success, it will be necessary for the union to secure decent headquarters. The active members and officers contemplate starting a campaign among the members for a building fund.

No doubt, such a movement, if energetically carried on, will bring the desired result, because proper and convenient headquarters is essential to success for any enterprise.

We expect that before long the Boston Waistmakers will have their own li-

brary, comfortable reading room, as the Philadelphia waistmakers enjoy.

Well, sisters and brothers, the result of your two years untiring efforts should encourage you to further deeds.

IN BALTIMORE AND OTHER CENTERS

Being in touch with numerous locals of our International Union in many cities, I have learned of their conditions, aspirations, and past history. I found them interesting and instructive and have related in the "Ladies Garment Worker," certain facts of their history and struggles because I consider it important to acquaint our big membership with the trials and tribulations of the thousands of workers employed in different trades, and the hardships they had to overcome before they succeeded in organizing a local union in their trade.

It is specially interesting to learn something of those locals that have grown up within the last few years in the waist, dress, white goods, house-dress and kimono, children's dresses, petticoats, corsets and rain-coats.

Our International has succeeded in penetrating into these trades, but has not yet completely organized them.

The main center for these trades is in New York. The bulk of the ladies' garment industry is situated in this big city. But these trades are not confined to New York City. The manufacturing of this merchandise is scattered all over the country. Of late several outside cities have become manufacturing centers of ladies' garments. This is especially true in the cities west of New York, southwest and middle west. For instance, Baltimore is becoming a manufacturing center for "light goods."

Considering the conditions under which the thousands of girls are there employed, we may realize the danger these cities are to our locals. In Baltimore girls are earning as much as three and four dollars weekly, and the competition is even felt by the cloakmakers of that city, because the skirts which were previously made in cloak shops controlled by Local No. 4 are now made in waist and white goods shops where girls work practically for a starvation wage.

The danger from such competition is shown by the following instance: The authorities advertised throughout the coun-

try, inviting men with capital to settle in this city, and the inducement they offered them was "cheap rent" and "cheap labor."

The International is trying to organize the girls there, but it will take some time before substantial results will be accomplished. This is natural, because it is a city where the workers of this trade were never before approached, and we know that it takes time before a new city is organized.

Like every city, Baltimore, too, has a group of young women who are idealists, and with a unique devotion they stand by their organization. Every morning and evening they are outside of the shops, telling their fellow workers that it is a disgrace, humiliating to human dignity, to work under such conditions. Late in the evening, one could see these idealists visiting their fellow workers at their homes, trying to enlighten them on their conditions. They are assisted in their work by Miss Anna Neary, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, who is devoting her entire time to the work.

They deserve a word of encouragement. Go on with your work, my fellow workers. It will finally be crowned with success, and this will be your compensation.

The dullness in the waist and white goods trades has affected Local 43 of Worcester, but now with the assistance of the International Union that local is not only re-establishing conditions, but it has also won many improvements.

A start to organize the petticoat makers has been made in Boston, where a number of these workers became a branch of Local No. 49.

Now that the cloakmakers are almost 100 per cent. organized throughout the country, it will be the work of the International Union in the near future to complete the organizing work of the other trades. This will be necessary to retain the conditions in the organized cities. The International will also be able to devote much time to strengthening the existing organization. A good example of this work is the Joint Board of the Cloak, Ladies' Tailors, and Waist & White Goods Workers' Union recently organized by President Schlesinger. It was a very useful accomplishment, and we expect that all the four locals composing it will try to make good.

The work done by the International Union in Boston has brought good results. All the destructive elements are eliminated, and the Joint Board is now in a good condition.

It is interesting and very encouraging to note a desire on the part of the active members to broaden the activities of their unions and initiate such activities to satisfy the intellectual needs of the members as well as the economic needs. One could notice a tendency towards co-operation.

All these activities should be encouraged by the International Union. It is needless to argue their importance. Every intelligent worker appreciates it because it tends to utilize the energy and intelligence of our members for the benefit of their locals.

This co-operative movement is spreading among the country locals as well as the New York locals. It is too early to foretell its course and development at this moment, but if properly directed it will bring good results.

"I'M SORRY; I WAS WRONG"

There may be virtue in the man
Who's always sure he's right,
Who'll never hear another's plan
And seek for further light;
But I like more the chap who sings
A somewhat different song;
Who says, when he has messed up things,
"I'm sorry; I was wrong."

It's hard for anyone to say
That failure's due to him—
That he has lost the fight or way
Because his lights burned dim.
It takes a man aside to throw
The vanity that's strong,
Confessing, "Twas my fault, I know,
I'm sorry; I was wrong."

And so, I figure, those who use
This honest, manly phrase,
Hate it too much their way to lose
On many future days.
They'll keep the path and make the fight,
Because they do not long
To have to say—when they're set right—
"I'm sorry; I was wrong."
—Chicago Evening Post.

Cloak Finishers' Union, Local 9

A Brief Review of Its Annual Report for 1917

By A. R.

This local union has issued an interesting annual report, compiled by N. M. Minkoff, the local secretary-treasurer. The report bristles with facts and figures concerning the more important events in the life of the local in 1917. A few of these facts and figures are given here in a condensed form.

The officers concede the fact that "only a small number of the 8,000 members attend meetings and take an active part in the affairs of the organization," adding that the inactive members are nevertheless union men and women. This lack of interest is pretty general. All our locals suffer in the same way. Were the local officers not so busy with the management of local affairs it would not be a bad idea to initiate certain movements appealing to legitimate self-interest and requiring personal initiative. The members do not attend the meetings because, perhaps, they have nothing to interest them directly. Maybe they do not want to hear a repetition of set speeches. The solution for this trouble seems to be—less speech-making and more practical endeavor; entertainments and edifying socials.

Local No. 9 has six branches, one of them a women's branch. Every branch is represented in the local executive board by five members, and the executive board works by six sub-committees which carry out the routine work. There is a membership committee, a consumption and relief committee, a finance committee, an organization committee, a grievance committee and a committee of delegates to the Joint Board.

The organization committee deals with complaints of members against employers, and against workers who turn from the union path. Figures given for five months in 1917 show 2,133 complaints dealt with; the amount of back pay collected was \$1,224, and 175 shop meetings were held.

The grievance committee took up 162 cases and imposed fines on forty-seven members.

The finance committee examines not only the expenditure, but also the income, and

is the advisory committee of the secretary-treasurer.

The committee composed of delegates to the Joint Board represents and defends the local's interests at the Joint Board meetings.

An interesting department is the consumption and relief fund. The work of the committee is of a special kind. During the year the committee met twenty-four times and dealt with fifty-four cases. This fund is entirely independent of the general fund, as the money at its disposal cannot be applied toward any other purpose than for the benefit of consumptive and needy members. The work is regarded as being very important and only the most experienced and practical members are elected on the committee.

The fund derives its income from (1) an assessment of \$1 a year upon every member; (2) 10 cents of the charge for constitution books; (3) all fines revert to the fund.

An instructive financial report is given for the two years and three months of its existence. Now that the benefit question is to come before the convention the figures are interesting. Thus the fund had an income of \$13,783.47, of which nearly \$12,000 came from the dollar assessment. Expenditures were \$5,492.28, and on December 31, 1917, there was a balance of \$8,291.19. Thus the fund rests on a firm foundation and has undoubtedly been a means of consolidating the local.

Thirty-two members received consumption benefit or were maintained at sanitariums at the cost of the fund. The highest sum cited as having been received by one member is \$250. Twenty-three members completely recovered and returned to work. Monetary relief rendered to 223 members totaled \$791.

The membership committee deals with all questions pertaining to admission or re-admission of members. All kinds of cases come before the committee—members dropped, wishing to re-enter; sick members who cannot pay their dues and delinquent

members accumulating arrears of dues out of sheer negligence.

In 1917 the committee met forty-seven times and dealt with 811 cases. Of these over 400 applicants were admitted to membership.

The report shows a loss of 1,861 members, not owing to backsliding on the part of the cloak finishers but for reasons beyond the local's control. It is explained that this is due, first, to the dwindling of the number of finishers in the trade because of the increasing tendency for their hand work being done by machine. Secondly, thirty per cent. of the membership consists of women workers, and a number of them drop out of the trade to get married. There are other elements who similarly drop out of the trade year by year. This sifting process is nothing new. But when there was a constant stream of immigrants the depleted ranks were soon filled by newcomers and no loss was felt. In recent years, however, the flow of immigration has almost entirely stopped.

The matter is not so alarming as the report would have us believe. The one needful thing is that all cloak finishers working in the trade shall be affiliated with the local union. In that case the union

should be strong even if the membership is less numerous.

Another question which is almost an evil in our unions is the backward state of many members in regard to the payment of their dues. At the end of 1917 Local No. 9 had only 1,412 members in good standing, that is, in arrears of dues less than thirteen weeks. All the rest were in arrears from fourteen to fifty-two weeks. The total sum of their indebtedness exceeded the amount of \$23,000—quite a fortune for such a local union.

A good many of these backward members might be excused. Slackness and the high cost of living made it hard for them to pay their dues more regularly. But a large number of members are simply negligent, or they think, perhaps, that they will apply to the membership committee requesting that their debt be wiped off.

The best remedy for this evil would be to have the members pay twice a year, after working two full weeks in the new seasons. Each member would have to pay about \$5 to \$6 in one lump sum which cannot ruin anybody. The union serves the worker and his family much better than does the landlord or the storekeeper; and when the members will get the habit of thinking that the union is not a charity institution this evil will disappear.

Cloakmakers Local No. 11, Report to the Convention

Owing to rumors that at the next convention in Boston a demand by some delegates will be made for revoking the charter of Local No. 11, Cloakmakers of Brownsville, and merging its membership with some of the New York locals, the Executive Board of Local No. 11 considered it advisable to issue a report to the convention showing the futility of such a step. The report dwells on certain historical facts of the local's existence, its struggles and achievements, and at the request of its officers a brief survey of the report is placed herewith.

The report is interesting in its description of the rise of Brownsville, N. Y., to be practically a populous industrial city. Its former bogs and marshes and general aspect of ugliness and discomfort have given rise to decent buildings, busy streets and a teeming

population. This now well inhabited section of Brooklyn has similarly become a center for the less pretentious manufacturers of women's garments and hence almost all the New York locals of the International Union have well-organized branches there. Local No. 11 is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, labor union in the ladies' garment industry in that part of Greater New York.

The report tells that years ago, when Brownsville was very sparsely populated, the people who had acquired real estate there for a song and were anxious to see their houses occupied offered them free of rent for six months and even longer. This attracted small contractors from New York and naturally their employees came with them. Needless to relate, the contractors in those times mercilessly exploited their "hands." This was the cause and origin of

the union twenty years ago. According to the report the union then bore the name of "Local No. 4." But as the International was not organized until 1900 this Brownsville Cloakmakers' Union must have been a branch of the then "Brotherhood of Cloak-makers."

The first Brownsville Cloakmakers' Union shared the fate of all similar organizations of that period. It struggled for several years and finally disappeared from the scene. In 1904, when the Williamsburg bridge was opened for traffic and cars began to run across, and the number of contractors and their employees multiplied exceedingly, the need of organization to check the practice of sweating became very pressing. It was then that the present Local No. 11 was organized with the help of the newly organized International Union.

In spite of many ups and downs the local stood its ground. We read in the report that, while most of the New York locals existed only on paper, Local No. 11 was "alive and kicking." And when preparations were made for the historic general strike of 1910 Local No. 11 was completely organized and ready to join the fight. During the strike Local No. 11 so thoroughly controlled the situation that not a trace of scab work was made there. According to the report the local is proud of the fact that between the years of 1904 and 1910 it was a union in the real sense. This was due to the fact that the membership regarded the organization as peculiarly their own, created and built up by their own efforts. The fact that Brownsville is not a nest of non-unionism and scab labor for our trades, like parts of New Jersey, is due to the existence of Local No. 11 and its struggles for uplifting and ennobling the workers' lives.

The report describes the antagonism between the inside and outside workers and how the question came to be an absorbing topic in the Cloakmakers' Union. Soon after the general strike Local No. 11 became affiliated with the Joint Board of New York, and coming in contact with new men, whose main function was to stop the work for one reason or another, the workers of Brownsville at first regarded the Joint Board office as the protector of the New York workers, and a hostile sentiment was generated between them and the then officers of the Joint Board. But the more intelligent and de-

voted element of Local No. 11 stepped into the threatened breach and sought to clarify the situation and conciliate the membership and they succeeded in bringing about a change for the better.

Almost all the cloakmakers of Brownsville work for contractors and sub-manufacturers. Thus Local No. 11 inevitably became the champion of these workers in all their dealings with the employers. The Cloakmakers' Union has been almost entirely engrossed with the interests of the inside workers, and so it devolved upon Local No. 11 to care for the outside workers of Brownsville, and the local succeeded in bringing the shops of the district under no smaller measure of control than that exercised by the union over the shops in New York.

Local No. 11 consists of two classes of members—a young element, intelligent and alert, scattered in the New York shops, and an older, weaker and toil-worn element working exclusively in Brownsville. The latter, according to the report, could not even be expelled from that section by force. They are firmly settled and habituated in Brownsville. The shops they work in are near to their homes, thus saving them the time and trouble of dressing up and taking car trips and lunches in restaurants. Going to and from New York daily to work would be quite an ordeal for them. They take this trip only on festive occasions or to meet a convivial family party. Referring to the demand for merging Local No. 11 with the New York locals the report says:

They who think that this element of Brownsville members can be easily assimilated with some local in New York are mistaken. Seventy-five per cent of our membership are so firmly rooted in Brownsville that they will never fit into another local without showing the bulging patchwork. It would be inconvenient for both sides.

The opponents of the idea of smaller locals, who cite Local No. 11 and the erstwhile Pressers' Local No. 68 of Brownsville as an argument in their favor should note this passage in the report of Local No. 11:

We want to point to a fact that teaches us a lesson. There was in Brownsville a pressers' local of several hundred members. Then a convention decided that the local should be dissolved and merged with Local No. 35, Pressers' Union of New York. Did not this seem a victory for the latter local? * * * But ask Local No. 35 and

they will tell you from their experience that to control that small number of Brownsville pressers cost double the amount of the income received and not less trouble and unpleasantness. The Brownsville pressers, on the other hand, will tell you that their affiliation with Local No. 35 has made no material or moral change in their condition; and it is not slanderous to say that both sides are dissatisfied. But when one talks of the advisability of dissolving such a local as ours we feel that it is necessary to have our experience and knowledge of the situation to be able to judge rightly, so as to avoid acting rashly.

As to the practical activity of Local No. 11 the report describes the internal life and idealism of its members, which should make their unsympathetic critics pause to think. Here are a few facts:

Local No. 11 was foremost in the enterprise of erecting the handsome Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The local gave the first donation of \$1,000 for this purpose and is now represented in the various committees that manage and maintain this labor temple.

Local No. 11 takes an active part morally and financially in all progressive movements. The Socialist victories in Brownsville in the recent elections are, in large measure, due to the activity of the Brownsville cloakmakers.

Even before Local No. 11 was connected with the New York locals, it had distinguished itself in a strike against the firm of John Bonwit in 1907. President Schlesinger of the International Union had led that strike.

Local No. 11 does not pretend to be the best local, but it claims to have contributed to the organizing work in Brownsville at all times.

At the time when the scab herder Sulkess attempted an invasion of the Brownsville shops, the cloakmakers of Brownsville gave the disrupters such a hot reception that in a few days they were bundled out of that locality bag and baggage and took good care not to show their faces again.

In the recent trouble with a group of leaders of the cloak operators of Local No. 1 the Brownsvillians likewise showed the stuff they are made of. Boldly they informed the group of over 100 members of

that local working in their shops: "Either you will belong together with us to the Joint Board, or you must go. * * * We will not stand for two unions in one shop," and in Brownsville the trouble was over in three or four weeks.

* * *

We have so far referred to the historical facts contained in the report, and now a word as to the report itself:

The report (published in Yiddish) marshalls the facts and arguments in a manner much to the point, dispassionately and without bombast. Its cold, iron logic is irresistible. Those who will read it with sympathetic attention will get a different picture of Local No. 11 than has been current in some circles.

And while we are more interested in its historical side we should not forget that the object of the report is to show in its own concluding words:

"That Local No. 11, exercising a healthy influence over its membership, must by no means be dissolved, because it is a great force in helping to bring about week work in the Brownsville shops. * * * If dissolution is resolved on it will cause demoralization among the membership of Local No. 11. This will react injuriously on the Brownsville shops and may prevent the realization of the week work system. Like an ill wind it will blow no one any good.

"We who know the true state of affairs in Brownsville safely assert that dissolving Local No. 11 means dissolving the union in Brownsville. However easy and deliberate the operation, it will leave a raw wound on the body of our union.

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Benjamin Schlesinger - - - President
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The Bonnaz Embroiderers in the Cloak and Dress Shops

In the last few years we have had pretty good seasons. Embroidery on garments was in fashion in the waist, dress and cloak trades. We have succeeded in organizing a strong union of Bonnaz machine embroiderers. By a general strike Local No. 66 won week work and a minimum scale of wages. Today our second class operators receive a minimum of \$30 a week, and first-class operators \$35. Of course, we have prevented the employers from turning the minimum into a maximum scale, for the more nimble and skilled operators earn from \$37 to \$40 a week. We have complete control over the workers in the shops and our people are paid for ten legal holidays. Thus, upon the surface, we have little to complain of. But only 45 per cent of our trade is organized. We still have a considerable number of non-union shops, which by their cut-throat competition constitute a standing menace to our union and our trade, and for this reason:

Bonnaz machine embroidering is a highly skilled trade. One cannot become an operator in a day. In spite of the so-called schools, which have lately started turning out operators, the number of workers in the trade is still limited. And when embroidery is in style there is enough work for the union shops as well as for the non-union shops.

It happens very often that two employers are after one worker, and to give our union shops the preference we decided that our members shall not work in any non-union shop. Not one employer was thereby compelled to settle with the union. They had no alternative, as they could not get any non-union workers.

But when the slack time sets in, it stimulates the evil of competition. The non-union contractors start getting busy, hustling around the waist and dress shops, underbidding the union contractors, and snatching the few bundles out of their hands. They are able to do so because they work fifty and fifty-four hours a week instead of forty-eight hours enforced in the union shops, and they cut down the wages of their semi-slaves, while in the union shops a reduction

in wages during the slack time is prohibited. It is very annoying that at a time when our people start dividing the scanty work among themselves, the non-union shops advertise for help. Now when our members go about idle it is impossible for them to resist the offer of a temporary job in a non-union shop at a ridiculously low wage. Aside from these non-union advertisements being a constant temptation to our members, the non-union contractors have until now kept their workers from joining the union by promising them steady work.

In view of the fact that in all the non-union shops mostly American women are employed, the situation can be easily imagined. Nevertheless we are continually storming the non-union fortresses and are making good progress. But we can only secure our position with the assistance of the International Union and the Waist and Dressmakers Local No. 25. They will surely do their duty by a fellow local union.

Local No. 66 is proud of being a branch of the overspreading tree of our International Union, and the struggles of the Cloakmakers and Waist and Dressmakers have always been our struggles. So our request to them is as follows:

It should be remembered that the Bonnaz machine embroidery trade is entirely in the hands of contractors who work the embroidery into the garments outside of the garment factories. They are practically the outside contractors of the waist, dress and cloak manufacturers.

Therefore our members feel that just as Local No. 25 and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union are interested in having the outside contractors of their trade registered and run as union shops, and complying with union standards, so they must cooperate with us in controlling the non-union embroidery contractors, who take the work out of their union shops.

In this not only Bonnaz machine embroidery is concerned but also hand embroidery. Our International Union is proud of having abolished home work in the cloak and dress trades. But not less than 1,500 women workers are employed by non-union con-

tractors on hand embroidery in private rooms and kitchens.

At the last convention we called for a decision requiring the cloak, suit, skirt and dress manufacturers to assume responsibility for the labor standards of their embroidery contractors, and also that the work shall be given out to union contractors.

The convention referred our request to the General Executive Board for action. We hope that the next convention in Boston will positively decide that the manufacturers' association in the cloak, suit and dress trades shall be officially called upon to give out the embroidery work to union contractors only.

In the meantime the business agents of Local No. 25 can help us to bring this improvement into life regardless of the attitude of the associations. Where the Cloak-makers' and Waistmakers' Unions exercise control over the shops they can help us very much.

The workers in the shops of Local No. 25 on their part can help us by refusing to do the work embroidered in scab shops. As principled, loyal union workers they cannot really act otherwise. The work comes to our shops direct from the cutting rooms. We shall gladly furnish them with the names of the embroidery shops involved in strikes and also the names of the dress shops for whom this work is made.

When this will be accomplished, our Local No. 66 will be enabled to continue the good work for the good and welfare of the workers in the trade and the International Union in general.

On May 1, Local No. 66, celebrates its fifth anniversary together with International Labor Day. The strong position of the local, numerically and financially, has been more than once referred to in this Journal. A concert for members and friends has been arranged in Mansion Hall, St. Mark's Place.

OSIP. WOLINSKY,
Manager Local No. 66.

DO NOT.

Do not be a quitter
With fear within your heart;
And do not be a starter
Of things that should not start.
—Judge.

LOCAL 43, WAIST AND WHITE GOODS WORKERS OF WORCESTER.

Brother Sigmund Haiman writes:

Things are pretty lively in Worcester at present. Since I arrived in Worcester shop meetings have been held daily with the different shops, and workers are joining the union and pledging their help to organize all the shops of dresses, waists and white goods.

Three shops have signed agreements with the union, and have reduced the working hours from 54 and 56 to 49 hours per week. The cutters (men) were working two hours each week more than the women. Now all work 49 hours.

The increases for week workers range from \$1.00 to \$4.00 per week. Piece workers have received increases from 15 per cent to 50 per cent; the average increase is about 25 per cent. A schedule has been installed in all waist shops for settlements of piece prices, which gives the workers an opportunity to know what they have to demand for certain work, while until now the employers alone fixed the prices.

Price committees and chairladies have been elected in these shops, and they will do their utmost to protect the increases.

The Executive Board and the active members of Worcester are very busy trying to organize the other few shops that have not signed agreements with the union yet. These shops, too, have reduced the working hours from 56 and 58 to 49 hours, and have given increases to their workers, so that they should not go to the meetings of the union, but it is very doubtful whether this will keep the workers from the union.

All the members are determined to go after the unorganized workers in these shops and persuade them not to be fooled by such promises, but join the union and make proper demands.

One of these manufacturers called in the Jewish girls and offered them increases, asking them not to tell it to the Gentile girls; but the idea was scouted.

The last members' meeting was well attended and 20 girls pledged their services to the Organization Committee. They promised to spend every evening in going to the houses of the unorganized, and inducing them to come to the meetings and join the union.

Local 43 is in good spirit over its success.



OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF LOCAL NO 80 I.L.C.W.V.

Bottom row, left to right: H. Wiener; W. Schmeider; B. Chazanovitz; S. Lefkowitz (Local Manager); H. Hillman; G. Demarines. Middle line: W. Zellman; P. Becker. Top line: N. Abramovitz; J. Magnavita; M. Goodman; A. Inguli; S. Drezinsky; J. Kavechint; S. Cohen.

ELDEGREEN
N.Y.

Ladies' Alteration and Special Order Tailors' Union, Local No. 80

Secretary H. Hilfman writes:

"The decision of the thirteenth convention to amalgamate Locals No. 30, Alteration Tailors; Local No. 38, Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers, and Local No. 65, Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers of Brooklyn, was carried out soon after the convention.

"The General Executive Board at the joint conference proposed that the Private Dressmakers, a branch of the Waist and Dressmakers, Local No. 25, should be a separate local and have the jurisdiction over the private dressmakers and take care of the organization work in their own trade. The proposition was agreed to, and the International Union issued them a charter as Local No. 90. The amalgamated union of the three aforesaid locals was chartered as Local No. 80.

"By a ruling of Vice Presidents Lefkovits, Wander and Ninfo, Bro. Markis was elected secretary, while the writer of this was retained as clerk to the secretary.

"At the amalgamation Local No. 30 brought into the treasury \$190 and Local No. 38, \$424. Local No. 65 was in debt, which we paid. Thus the new union started with a capital of \$614.

"It took some time to harmonize and weld together the various elements. In this Vice President Lefkovits, who was appointed by the International to organize the trade, helped a great deal. Not until certain misunderstandings were removed did the organization work begin in earnest, and then everyone assisted Bro. Lefkovits in the best possible way.

"Plans were formed to call a general strike in the fall season of 1917, and we worked untiringly toward that end. We should not forget the demoralization prevailing among the workers. They had lost their faith in all efforts to improve conditions in spite of their unbearable sufferings at the hands of the employers.

"Gradually Bro. Lefkovits succeeded in imbuing them with the conviction that all doubt and mistrust must give way to renewed life and work for a clean and true union. Three mass meetings, then held, encouraged our work of raising the workers out of a sort of bondage, and little by little they joined the ranks of the union.

"The agitation for a general strike was welcomed with enthusiasm. There was no other solution. Our leaders tried to avoid a strike. But while some manufacturers intimated their willingness to meet the demands of the union the majority of the employers ignored the agitation.

"The general strike was called on September 22, 1917, and the workers warmly responded to the call and left the shops. Many firms settled immediately. Only a small number of employers remained stubborn. At the end of two weeks all the firms settled with the union. It was remarkable that not a single arrest was made, so well and orderly was the strike conducted.

"The concessions won included a forty-eight hour week; a minimum wage of \$30 for first-class workers and a minimum of \$26 for second-class workers; an increase of 20 per cent for those receiving a wage above this scale; time and a half for overtime; two legal holidays; a week's trial, and minor improvements.

"The strike was successful, even though it did not extend to the entire trade. The alteration tailors were unmoved, except the workers of the Franklin Simon Company, J. M. Gidding and several East Side stores.

"The prestige of the union grew and there was general satisfaction at what had been accomplished. The union amassed a treasury of several thousand dollars in a few weeks and all went smoothly under the supervision of Vice President S. Lefkovits, for whom we all have a high regard.

"But our employers cannot acquire the habit of living in peace with the union. It seems that a certain firm, Milgrim Bros., employing some 200 ladies' tailors, intrigued against the union, in having four disloyal workers come to work on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. The violation was quickly discovered and the union decided that two of the guilty workers should leave the shop and two should be fined \$50 each. The firm denied knowledge of the fact and insisted on these people returning to work, but the union could not concede the point.

"As it was the end of the season the firm seemed to have planned an attack on the organization. Two shop chairmen were discharged, followed by a lockout of all the

workers. Thus the union was forced to declare a strike.

"The shop was at one time considered a hard one to tackle; but this time all the workers proved loyal to the cause.

"The strike lasted eight weeks. The firm resorted to every expedient in trying to lure the workers back. One of these was the provision of kitchen and sleeping arrangements; another was the employment of eighteen hired guards. It may be safely asserted that the strike cost the firm \$40,000.

"Although the strike had to be abandoned because of inadequate finances, and after all donations from our own members, from the International Union, from the New York Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union and from other locals had been exhausted, our local union retained its strength and prestige. When the spring season started the union was in full vigor again. A number of shop strikes were settled in a few days and others in a few hours. So far, we have not lost control over a single shop. We have under union control all the shops unionized in the last strike, with exception of Milgrim Bros. The receipts and expenditures for 1917 show our satisfactory financial standing. They were: Receipts, \$12,192.89; expenditures, \$11,522.43.

"We are grateful, indeed, to our International Union; the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers; Locals 3, 9, 10, 17, 23, 25, 35, 41, 64 and Local No. 1, Capmakers' Union for their financial support in the Milgrim strike. Special thanks are due to the Furriers' Joint Board of New York, Locals 1, 5, 10, 15 of the International Fur Workers' Union, for calling out on sympathy strike their members employed in shops doing work for Milgrim Bros. and paying them strike benefit for six weeks."

* * *

"Several years ago a movement had been started to amalgamate the former Local No. 38, Ladies' Tailors, and Local No. 3, Sample Makers and Piece Tailors. In the general cloak strike of 1916 the necessity for this was clearly demonstrated. We all remember how the Cloakmakers' Joint Board tried to induce the Ladies' Tailors, who were making samples for the cloak houses in strike, to join the strikers.

"It is equally well known that as soon as the sample season comes to an end in the cloak trade the sample makers of Local No. 3 come to work in the Ladies' Tailors' shops,

while the Ladies' Tailors at the end of their season go to work in the cloak shops. Transfer cards are demanded by the respective unions in control of the shops and this causes friction among the locals.

"Again, a sample maker or a ladies' tailor, after the season in his own trade is over often permits himself to accept a lower wage in the other trade, because he considers that a side line, and the interest of the worker in the other trade does not concern him. The active spirits at the head of both locals perceived this and were willing to join forces. To facilitate the process President Schlesinger advised the formation of a trades council to meet and discuss matters of common interest, so as to make the fusion of forces a success upon the convention stamping the project with approval.

"This Trades Council has been meeting weekly. At a mass meeting of the membership of both locals the establishment of the Trades Council and the ultimate amalgamation of the two locals was ratified.

"It is to be hoped that the general officers and delegates to the fourteenth convention in Boston will realize the necessity of reorganizing both locals under one charter."

"THE HEIRS OF ALL THE EARTH."

By Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

From street and square, from hill and glen,
Of this vast world beyond my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs a vast torch-light in the air.
I watch it through the evening damps;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine clad, nor clothed in state,
Their title deeds not yet made plain;
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant's brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse beat calm and still;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace time's wondrous will.

Some day without a trumpet's call,
This news shall o'er the earth be blown;
The heritage comes back to all;
The myriad monarchs take their own.

Our Free Forum

This column is for letters and short articles of members and readers on current trade and labor topics. Avail yourself of this free forum and express your views. The editor reserves the right to publish or withhold communications at his discretion and is not responsible for opinions expressed. He advises correspondents to avoid all personal attacks which may be mistaken for criticism, and will be glad to answer queries.

SHOULD WE HAVE SMALLER LOCALS?

Editor Ladies' Garment Worker:

The idea of the writer on this subject in the last issue of the *Ladies' Garment Worker* is that a local consisting of more than 500 members cannot cultivate friendship and brotherliness. Union activity cannot be shared in by all, and the unity of our organization is merely mechanical, kept up by artificial means.

If it were the case that smaller locals or branches have the aforementioned qualities, Locals Nos. 11, 3 and 64 would be model organizations and their existence assured. But those locals have no more fraternity, solidarity and activity, perhaps less, than Locals 1, 9, 23 and 35. The cloak pressers of New York once had two locals—Nos. 35 and 68. Did the members of Local 68 fare better than at present? By no means. There was friction, and, to some extent, competition.

Not once have the sample makers of Local No. 3 regretted their separation from Local No. 9. The condition of the sample makers has not improved as a result of their having a separate union. The members do not feel such nearness to one another as the finishers, even though the finishers' local consists of almost 8,000 members, and their expenses have increased too.

I am surprised at the writer of the article in question. He surely knows the cry of the operators, in the recent dispute with Local No. 1, namely, "Abolish the several locals in one and the same trade and city." It was this jurisdiction question that brought about the reorganization of Local No. 1. Now this writer comes and says that the only remedy is—smaller locals. Instead of centralization he advocates the idea of splitting up and breaking the strength of our organization. Imagine, for instance, that the 8,000 operators would be split up into sixteen locals. Similarly with the finishers and other locals. Now, naturally, when we talk in the name of democracy we must be so far democratic as to give every local autonomy, so that each local would have an executive board and by-laws according to its desire. The International Union cannot establish uniformity of thought. Can you imagine a worse situation? For instance, there will be in one shop twenty operators of ten different lo-

icals, four pressers of four locals, five finishers of five locals, and everyone will recognize his executive board only. One executive board will decide one way and another board the other way. This, instead of uniting the workers in the shop, will divide them and create new barriers between one worker and another.

Let us now consider the financial side, which plays a large part in our organization. Does the writer know that all small locals, having even more than 500 members, barely exist? Not once are they anxious about their next month's office rent. Even if their weekly dues should be 25 cents it would not pay, because according to the plan of small locals every local would have an executive board, financial secretary and other officers, and considerable expenses.

If the motive for the new plan has arisen because of the recent dispute with Local No. 1, is it because a big local is sometimes tempted to overstep the bounds of organization, and to discipline a local of this kind great courage, responsibility and effort are needed, therefore it is proposed to divide our strength into small locals to make it easier to control, and, if necessary, to discipline them?—if this is the motive, then it is in the first place cowardly. Secondly, what would happen if ten locals of finishers join and raise the cry, for example, that no finishing should be made by machine, or some similar unrealizable demand, and threaten to withdraw from the Joint Board if their demand be not conceded? Then, instead of disciplining one local, the International would have to reorganize ten locals. Does not this show that the scheme of small locals is illogical?

If the idea is to establish a good control over the members, then instead of splitting them up into small groups it would be more advisable to do away with the present separate locals, separate offices, separate staffs and separate expenses, the total amount of which must be enormous. Instead of this, the membership department and finance department of all the workers in their particular branch of industry should be concentrated in one central body under the supervision of the Joint Board. This system would effect economy and efficiency. It would pay to engage a financial expert to install a modern system of finance and save much money. It would give us a possi-

bility to introduce uniform dues, one membership committee, one grievance committee and one appeal committee on which all branches of trade would be represented; and instead of locals there would be trade branches. Every branch would have its executive board and elected representatives in the Joint Board. The branches would take up only trade questions. As for the financial and membership questions—these would be dealt with by the Joint Board.

This would give the Joint Board and the International full control over every local and would make it impossible for any local, for the sake of personal caprices, to dream of dictating terms to the central body or misuse the members' money in a desire to break up the union, as was the case recently with a group of irresponsible persons. The motto of our union is unity, integrity and not the splitting up of forces.

M. COOK,
Local No. 9.

EDITOR'S REPLY

The first thing to be noticed in the above correspondence is that Brother Cook has not read the articles on this subject in the February and March issues of the *Ladies' Garment Worker*; so that he has not a clear view of the proposition and of the indisputable causes making smaller locals an urgent necessity.

It is strange that Brother Cook, an active member of his local, should have overlooked this matter. We find that many local officers and active members are in the same boat, being either too busy or negligent to follow their own trade press and keep well posted on important general matters within the organization.

There are certain evils due directly to the unnatural size of some of our locals, namely, indifference and aloofness of the large mass of members from the life and activity of their locals, the necessity of organizing and reorganizing every season and want of earnestness generally. Large locals are not a normal and regular thing in an organization. Where the local consists of thousands of members, there is no earthly chance for them to get the floor and express their opinions at members' meetings. Many of our members do not always want to hear what other people have to say; they sometimes would like other people to hear what they have to say. At large meetings this is impossible, and for that reason they stay away.

Brother Cook argues that the present smaller locals do not show the qualities of friendship and solidarity and activity which they are supposed to have because they are smaller. He cites for example Locals Nos. 11, 3 and 64.

In regard to Local No. 11, Brownsville Cloakmakers, the local has issued a report and review of its history to the convention, claiming to have developed certain quali-

ties and to have established a sound control over the Brownsville shops because of its smaller size, while if it had been swallowed up in the ocean of a big local there would have disappeared all the peculiar individuality and character of the local's useful career.

As to the Locals Nos. 3 and 64, it must be borne in mind that these locals were established on the same principle as the big locals, namely, "separate kingdoms," as Brother Cook calls them. They are not founded on that principle, which would give every member an equal opportunity to find expression, but rather on a kind of oligarchy or bureaucracy ruled from above by diplomats and officials. The success of such an organization depends on the ability and talent of the diplomats and officials and not on the will and enthusiasm and co-operation of the members. That is the chief trouble in all our locals, large or small.

My idea of smaller locals is based on the rule of the people, where the officers carry out the expressed will of the people and not, as they do at present, leaving everything to the officers. I mean locals which should gradually rise to a condition where at least fifty or sixty per cent. of the members should be capable of serving in official capacities. Now, we have not the human material from which to select officers. I agree that small locals founded on the principle of separate management and expenses must lead a poor existence.

Brother Cook paints a black picture of 8,000 operators split up into sixteen locals, each having complete autonomy and its own by-laws and their executive boards and members in the shops being continually at loggerheads. But this shows that he has not even read my article but only the heading: "A Local Union Should Consist of Not More Than 500 Members." Discussing the question whether the smaller locals will maintain harmony among themselves and not seek to foster separate interests and separate policies, my article reads:

"The duties and functions of the locals, the executive boards and Joint Boards would remain the same: namely, to improve conditions and strengthen the union. There is no need to change the present form of local autonomy. Every local should be free in strictly local matters, yet closely allied with the rest of the locals in the same branch of trade through a Joint Board, in all matters affecting the general interest. So far as the policy of the union, minimum scale of wages, maximum number of working hours, general strikes and other questions pertaining to the entire industry are concerned—these matters should remain, as at present, in the hands of the Joint Boards and the International Union."

Well informed union people know that by-laws must be in accord with the International constitution; that in an organization there can not be license to override the will of the majority, which is sometimes

mistaken for autonomy and freedom. A local going over the limit runs counter to democracy.

It does not follow that twenty operators of ten smaller locals will work in one shop. That is purely imaginary, and even if they should it does not follow that they will not rather go hand in hand in their interest with their local executives and work in harmony rather than develop friction and conflict.

I have a different picture in my mind; namely, that all trade questions, strikes, complaints and settlements will be taken care of by the Joint Board and the International; that the smaller locals need no separate officers and separate financial systems. Our Philadelphia Joint Board locals have one office and one financial system. There is no reason why the smaller locals in one industry should not have one membership committee, one grievance committee and one appeal committee. But the main aim of the smaller locals will be to attract the members to their meetings, by encouraging them to take the floor and express their views and by interesting them in responsible work for their interest. At present they are indifferent because they have nothing more to do than pay their dues and listen to a dry report. Such matters as the present high cost of living, co-operative buying for the members and their families, benefit features, educational clubs, local libraries and amusements can become

of such great interest as to wake up the membership from its indifference.

The work of a union is to educate its members not through outside educational influences but through union activity within, which would make them into better fighters in the economic struggle. At present this work is being done by a very few people; hence it is necessary to **control the members from above**, and we have not yet discovered the most efficient system of control. Many members continually slip away from all control. In smaller locals, properly organized, this control can be automatic—in every member's heart.

The plan of smaller locals aims at uniting the locals in a strong bond of solidarity rather than to separate them. Experience shows that locals are apt to imitate one another in positive undertakings for the common good, and some locals even unite for a common purpose to economize in expenditure, as, for instance, Locals Nos. 35, 9 and 23 are united in caring for the health of their membership through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

Above all, let no one compare small locals where the trade is organized to small locals where the trade is **not organized**, where the locals are engaged in a struggle for existence and cannot devote themselves to any kind of educational activity. Smaller locals would bring more solidarity between them, while at present every big local is a sort of "independent kingdom."

LABOR.

I've builded your ships and your railroads,
I've worked in your factories and mines,
I've builded the roads you drive on,
I've crushed the ripe grapes for your wines.

I've worked late at night on your garments,
I gathered the grain for your bread,
I built the fine house that you live in,
I printed the books you have read.

I've linked two great oceans together,
I've spanned your rivers with steel,
I built your towering skyscrapers,
And also your automobile.

I've gone out to wrecked ships in the life boats,
When the storm loudly cried for its prey;
I've guarded your house from marauders,
I have turned the night into day.

Wherever there's progress you'll find me,
Without me the world could not live;
And yet you would seek to destroy me
With the meager pittance you give.

Today you may grind me in slavery,
You may dictate to me from the throne;
But tomorrow I throw off my fetters,
And am ready to claim what I own.

You masters of field and of factory,
I am mighty and you are but few;
No longer I'll bow in submission,
I am Labor and ask for my due.

—Budd McKillips.

Directory of Local Unions

(Continued)

LOCAL UNION

OFFICE ADDRESS

40. New Haven Corset Workers.....393 Columbus Ave., New Haven, Conn.
41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers....126 Green St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
45. Syracuse, N. Y., Dressmakers.....913 Almond St., Syracuse, N. Y.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union....231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors..387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....409 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....80 E. 10th St., New York City
59. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors.....106 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.
60. Phila. Embroidery Workers.....2126 N. 7th St., Phila., Pa.
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers, 37 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.
62. New York White Goods Workers.....35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....112 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union..Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....813 George St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....16 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....194 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers, 1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....26 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....505 Reed St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....54 Burton St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers, 725 Lexington av., N. Y. C.
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....909 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
82. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squares & Bushelers' Union, 228 Second av., N. Y. C.
83. Toronto, Canada, Cutters.....110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
84. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio
85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Gar. Workers' Union..92 St. James St., St. John, N. B., Can.
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....Forward B'ldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers, 1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
110. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union..1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
111. Cleveland Raincoat Makers.....314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
112. Montreal, Canada, Ladies' Waist Makers.....1271 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada

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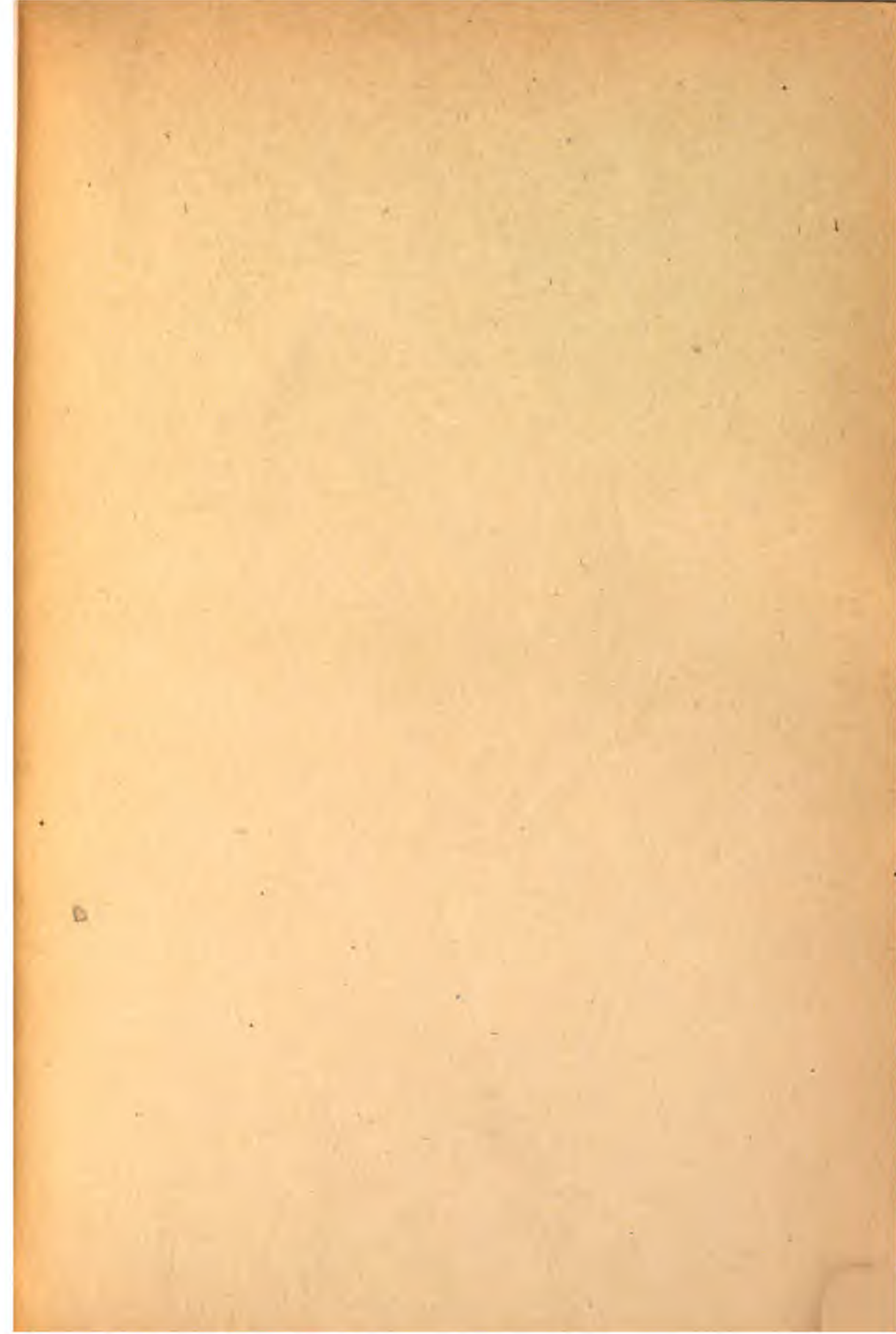
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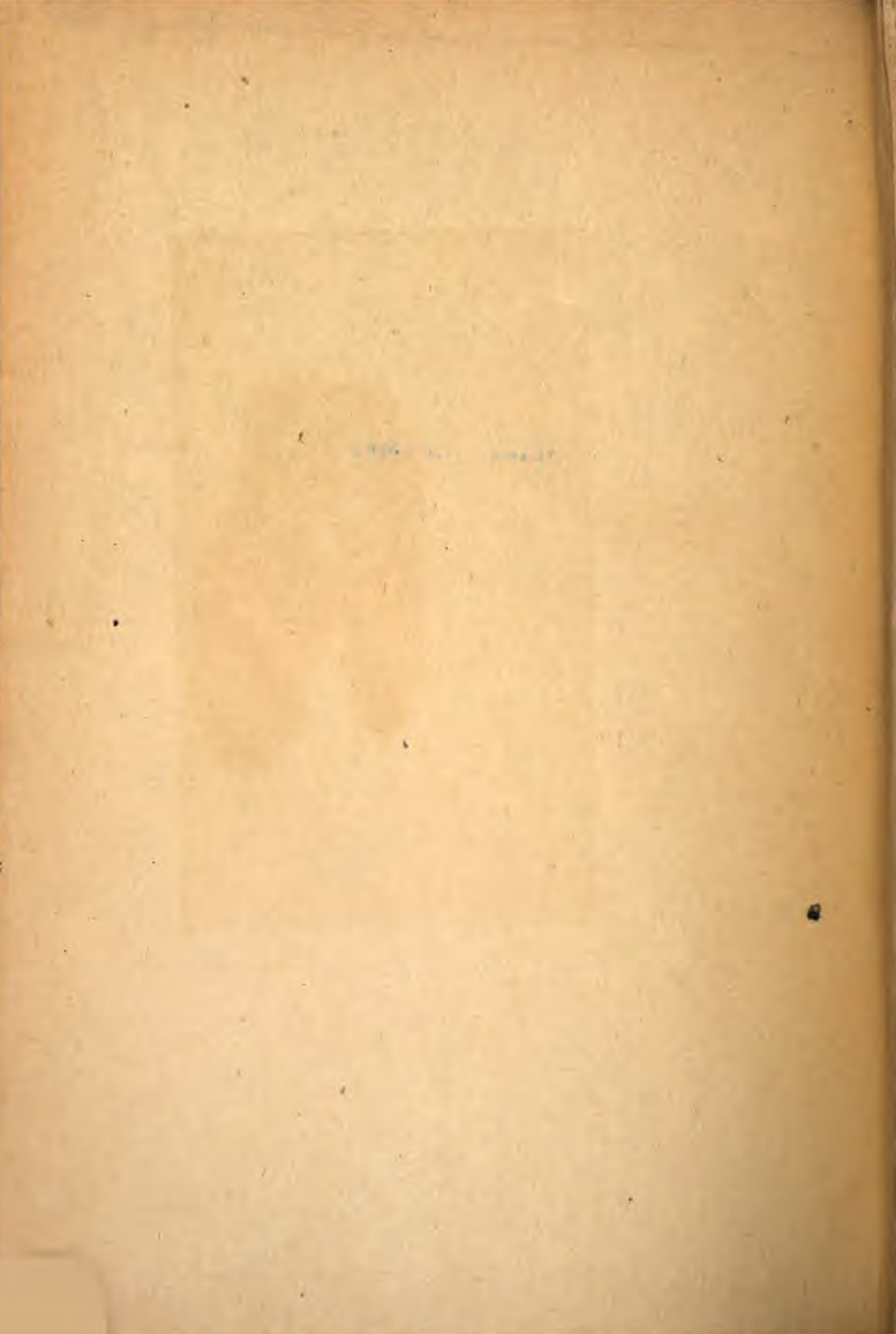
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